RAGIST

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ENTION ISSUE

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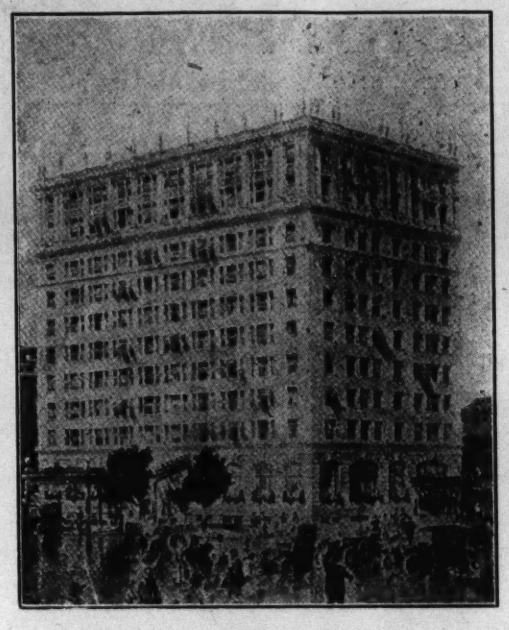

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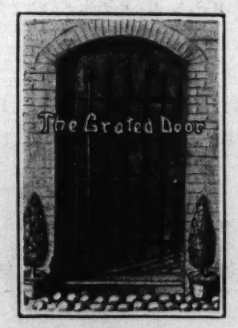

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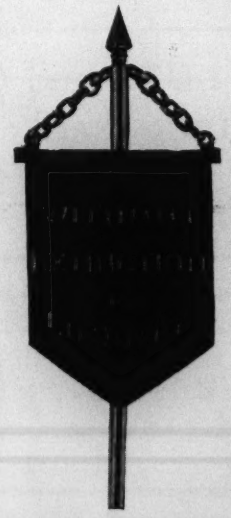
Denver, Colo.
Mrs. Key Pittman
Tonopah, Nev.
Mrs. Atlee Pomerene
Canton, Ohio
Mrs. Edward W. Pou
Smithfield, N. C.
Mrs. John E. Raker
Alturas, Calif.
Mrs. Chas. H. Randall
Los Angeles, Calif.
Mrs. Joseph E. Ransdell
Lake Providence, La.
Mrs. Joseph T. Robinson
Lonoke, Ark.
Mrs. Morris Sheppard
Texarkana, Texas
Mrs. Furnifold M. Simmons
New Bern, N. C.
Mrs. Reed Smoot
Provo, Utah
Mrs. Selden P. Spencer
St. Louis, Mo.
Mrs. A. Owsley Stanley
Henderson, Ky.
Mrs. Howard Sutherland
Elkins, W. Va.
Mrs. Edward T. Taylor
Glenwood Springs, Colo.
Mrs. Horace M. Towner
Corning, Iowa
Mrs. Oscar Underwood
Birmingham, Ala.
Mrs. William N. Vaile
Denver, Colo.
Mrs. William W. Venable
Meridian, Miss.
Mrs. James Watson
Rushville, Ind.
Mrs. Wallace H. White, Jr.
Lewiston, Maine
Mrs. Otis Wingo
De Queen, Ark.
Mrs. Harry C. Woodyard
Spencer, W. Va.

To All Suffrage Pickets



The Picket Pin

The National Woman's Party wishes to present to each woman who has ever picketed, whether she was imprisoned or not, a picket pin in memory of our picket days together. We shall present these pins on the evening of February 18th, during our national convention, which meets in Washington on February 15th and lasts through February 18th. We hope to make the ceremony a dignified and impressive one, which will show our appreciation of the militant workers in our campaign.

We hope that as many of the pickets as possible will attend this meeting and receive their pins in person. If they cannot come personally we ask them to send proxies to receive the pins for them.

We ask each picket to wear upon this evening a white dress white shoes and stockings.

The price of each pin is $3.00. Please let us know at once whether you can be present in person to receive your pin, and, if not, the name and address of the proxy whom you wish to receive it in your place.

Signed by MRS. RICHARD WAINWRIGHT,
Chairman of the Committee on the Presentation of the Picket Pins
Address, 14 *Jackson Place*

SUFFRAGIST

Official Organ of the National Woman's Party

VOL. IX. No. 1 JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1921

EDITORS

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ELEANOR TAYLOR MARSH.....*Associate Editor*
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Editorial

By ALICE PAUL

WHEN the women of the United States first met to consider their position in the state and in human society, they drew up a Bill of Rights which—without power of any kind, political or economic, but with inspired determination—they started out to secure.

Almost seventy-three years from the date of that first convention, the women of the United States again meet to consider where they stand. During these seventy-three years, women have won the right without which all others are insecure, the right of a full and equal voice in the government under which they live.

Armed with this power, they meet now to consider the remaining forms of the subjection of women.

At that first convention in 1848, one of the resolutions unanimously adopted read:

"RESOLVED, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance by asserting that they have all the rights they want."

This resolution still applies to the women of today. They have gained much since 1848, but they have made their gains piecemeal; rights which they possess in one state, they do not possess in another.

This, added to the fact that in many states laws are not coded, makes it very difficult to secure accurate information in regard to their legal status, but enough facts have been collected to prove that the "present position" is not "satisfactory."

Many of the laws against which the early convention protested continue to exist to the detriment and humiliation of women. Discriminations persist in the universities. Women are far from enjoying equality in the trades and professions. They are discriminated against by the Government itself in the Civil Service regulations. They do not share in all political offices, honors and emoluments; there is in one state at least a law which prevents women from holding office at all. They have not attained complete equality in marriage or equal rights as married women over their property or even in the matter of the guardianship of their children.

The very representation in Government which they have won in individual countries may lose its full significance by the creation of an international association of governments in which—unless they take prompt steps to secure it—they will not have an equal voice.

There is danger that because of a great victory women will believe their whole struggle for independence ended. They have still far to go. It is for the Woman's Party to decide whether there is any way in which it can serve in the struggle which lies ahead to remove the remaining forms of woman's subordination.

The memorial to Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, taken in an early stage of the statue's development. Mrs. Adelaide Johnson, Sculptor of the memorial, stands beside it.

The Memorial Ceremonies

By Hazel MacKaye

FAR more than a personal tribute to three noble women is represented by the monument which women are to present to our national Capitol at the opening of the convention of the Woman's Party. We meet to celebrate the victory of the cause for which these women fought, the triumph of an idea. The form of our celebration therefore must visualize the deepest feelings which women possess for these leaders and the cause they represent. The climax of the celebration, the actual unveiling of the statue, must be a moment of awesome beauty.

I stress the beauty of the ceremony because I have an intense belief in the importance of beauty to the health of the world. While men have created beauty through art, women have expressed it in life. They have *been* beautiful. Those women whose beauty has moved the world have been no less artists than the painters, sculptors and musicians whose names have come down through the centuries, the difference between them lying in the fact that the latter created an impersonal art from plastic materials, while the former—the women—turned the expression of themselves, body, mind and soul, into a perfected personal art.

When called upon actively to press their claims to further freedom, it was only natural that women should carry into their campaign this same sense of the beautiful. Only now, out in the world, it took on a larger aspect; it became broadly impersonal, a fitting expression of a big human need, the enfranchisement of one-half of mankind.

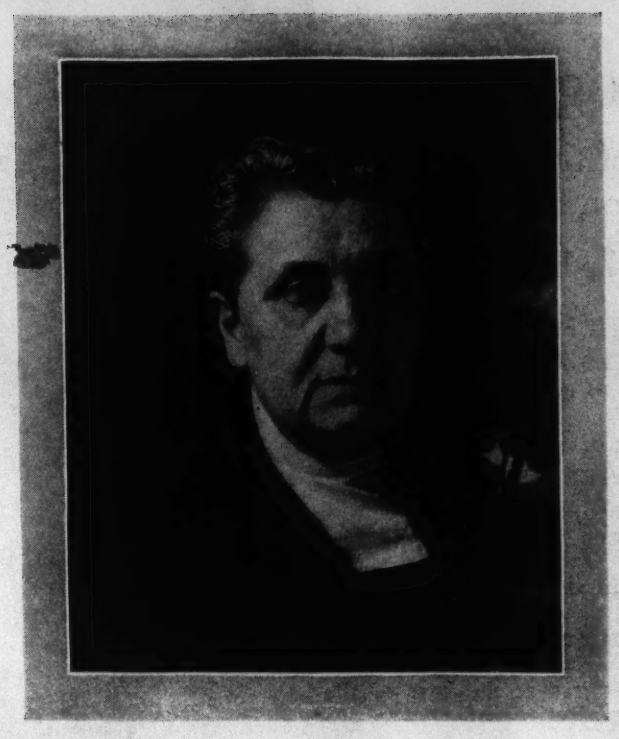
Before women made it the most natural thing in the world, it would have seemed ridiculous indeed to express a political agitation in terms of beauty. Yet from the moment the Congressional Union first voiced its demand in 1913, the campaign for political freedom found its outlet through art, pageants, parades, allegories, ceremonies in which all forms of beauty—color, line, grouping—were used to express a great idea.

Even the simplest expressions of the Woman's Party agitation have been beautiful. The long lines of silent picketers carrying their regal banners, the quiet guards of the watch-fires, the evening meeting around the statue of Lafayette, when living forms mingled with those of bronze to form a beautiful base for that gallant figure—all have had grace and dignity.

The memorial ceremony of February 15, celebrating the triumph of an idea, must also be a climax of beauty. The statute will be presented and accepted with speeches by Jane Addams and by Speaker Gillett. Until the actual moment of unveiling comes, the statue will be kept a mystery. Its unveiling will be accomplished by means of light and music. Then from the outside world will come the representatives of all the women of the nation, artists, mothers, workers, with the colors of their myriad banners, to lay at the foot of the statue their special tributes. A great mass of color will be the high note of this processional.

At last, because the work of these women, in one sense complete, has in a deeper sense just begun, the ceremonies must strike a note of prophecy. Spring colors, the soft yellows, greens, fawns, that mean new life, worn by the participants, will catch the triumph of the moment of victory and bring to it the final splendor, a vision of promise.

Jane Addams, known and loved throughout the world, will preside at the first national ceremony in honor of women, which is to take place, at the suggestion of the Woman's Party, in the national Capitol on the evening of February 15th. The



memorial statute of the three great pioneers in the woman's movement of America, will be unveiled, and more than sixty women's organizations representing many millions of women from all sections of the country, will pay tribute to their memory.

A Woman's Convention

ON February 16th American women armed with the practical weapon of political power will meet for the first time in national convention to consider how far they have progressed on the road toward complete freedom and what obstacles are delaying their further progress. The convention will be the first since 1848 to be devoted exclusively to questions directly affecting the interests of women.

Before it takes up in convention the problems of the immediate situation, the National Woman's Party will join with the other national women's organizations in a memorial service and tribute to the three women who, beyond all others, helped women to make articulate and effective their desire for a full and independent life.

The statue of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, which has just been completed by Mrs. Adelaide Johnson, will be placed in the National Capitol in honor of the women whom it represents, and of all those who have carried on the struggle which they began for women's freedom. Miss Jane Addams, probably the most beloved of American women, will preside at the presentation ceremony, which is being planned and directed by Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest and Miss Hazel MacKaye. It will take place on the 101st anniversary of the birth of Susan B. Anthony, February 15th.

No tribute in honor of these three early leaders could look entirely backward, for their vision and hopes for women reached into the future far beyond the place that women have so far won. Therefore, it is fitting that on the day following the memorial, the Woman's Party should assemble in convention, and, after winding up the details of the suffrage campaign by hearing the final reports of the officers of the Party, turn its attention to what still remains to be done before women reach their full stature as individuals and citizens.

Because the woman's movement toward greater liberty belongs to no country but is universal, reaching as far back as history goes and evident now in every land, the Woman's Party convention, before attempting to decide upon a program for the women of this country, will hear accounts from foreign women of the woman's movement abroad. Again, before working out the details of its program, the convention will learn from speakers from all women's organizations now engaged in any legislative campaign, exactly what their legislative programs are. They will further listen to accounts from representatives of all the other political parties of legislation proposed by them in the interest of women.

With this information as a background, the Woman's Party will then on the final day decide on its own future course. As a basis for discussion the Executive Committee, the Advisory Council, and the State Chairmen will alike submit resolutions to the convention embodying their ideas of what the Party should do.

The resolution on the future program adopted unanimously by the Executive Committee on January 14th, was this:

"RESOLVED, That the women here assembled now consecrate themselves, the political freedom of women having been won in the United States, to see that this freedom is not lost in any international government that is established and to work for the removal of all the remaining forms of the subjection of women."

The resolutions on the future program, adopted unanimously by the Advisory Council on January 28th, included the one adopted by the Executive Committee and added these three:

RESOLVED, That in order to carry out this program, the National Woman's Party disband, and a new organization be created.

RESOLVED, That in order to promote the object of this organization, it maintain an official magazine.

RESOLVED, That the immediate work of the organization shall be the removal of the legal disabilities of women.

The final evening of the convention, whether the Woman's Party decide to disband or to reorganize under a new name, will be devoted to reminiscences of the seven years' victorious campaign which ended in political freedom for the women of this country. On this evening, picket pins, representing in miniature the banners which they made famous around the world, will be presented to the five hundred women who picketed the White House and the Capitol. The complete program follows:

Official Program

National Convention of the Woman's Party, Washington, D. C.

February 15, 16, 17, 18, 1921

February 15—4-6 p. m.

RECEPTION TO DELEGATES AND GUESTS

Mrs. William Kent at her home, 1925 F St., Washington, D. C.

February 15—8:15 p. m.

MEMORIAL SERVICE TO PIONEER SUFFRAGISTS

At the Capitol

Chairman: Jane Addams

Presentation of Statues of Pioneer Suffragists to Capitol—Adelaide Johnson, Sculptor.

Receiving of Statues on behalf of Congress: Speaker Gillett, of the House of Representatives.

Laying of tributes of wreaths and flowers at the base of the statues by national and local organizations of women, including the

General Federation of Women's Clubs—Represented by Miss Lida Hafford, Director of National Headquarters.
Housekeepers' Alliance—Represented by Mrs. Rose G. Hoes, National President.
International Council of Nurses—Represented by Miss Lavinia Dock, International Secretary.
Woman's Benefit Association of Maccabees—Represented by Mrs. Mary Adamson, President of the D. C. Branch.
National Army Nurse Corps—Represented by Major Julia Stimson, Superintendent of Army Nurse Corps.
National Association Collegiate Alumnae—Represented by Mrs. Gertrude Martin, National Executive Secretary.
National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors—Represented by Mrs. H. Van Beuren Magonigle, National President.
National Business and Professional Women's League—Represented by Miss Mary Stewart, National Corresponding Secretary.
National Community Service—Represented by Mrs. Eva White, Member of National Board.
National Congress of Mothers' and Parent-Teachers' Association—Represented by Mrs. Arthur Watkins, National Executive Secretary.
National Consumers' League—Represented by Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary.
National Council of Women—Represented by Mrs. Philip North Moore, National President.
National Council of Jewish Women—Represented by Mrs. Alexander Wolf, President of D. C. Branch.
National Council of Women Voters—Represented by Dr. Cora Smith King, National Treasurer.
National D. A. R.—Represented by Mrs. George Minor, President General.
National Democratic Women—Miss Charl O. Williams, National Vice-Chairman of Democratic National Committee.
National Grand Chapter, Order of Eastern Star—Represented by Mrs. Minnie Keyes, Right Worthy Grand Secretary.
National Federal Suffrage Association—Represented by Reverend Olympia Brown, President.
National Federation of College Women's Clubs—Represented by Mrs. J. C. Merriman, National President.
National Federation of Federal Employes—Represented by Miss Gertrude McNally, Vice-President.
National Florence Crittenden Hope and Health Mission—Represented by Mrs. Charles W. Fitts, President District Branch.
National League of American Pen Women—Represented by Mrs. William A. DuPuy, National President.
National Navy Nurse Corps—Represented by Miss Lena Higbee, Superintendent.
National Women's Peace Society—Represented by Mrs. Henry Villard, National President.
National Women's Pen League—Represented by Mrs. Florence Jackson Stoddard, National President.
National Women's Press Club—Represented by Miss Cora Rigby, President.
Woman's Auxiliary to Railway Mail Association—Represented by Mrs. H. K. Wine, President.
National Red Cross Nurses—Represented by Miss Clara Noyes, National Superintendent.
National Republican Women's Organizations—Represented by Miss Helen Varick Boswell, national leader in Republican Women's Organization.
National W. C. T. U.—Represented by Mrs. Ellis Yost, National Legislative Chairman.
National Woman's Party—Represented by Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Member of the National Board of the Woman's Party.
National Women's Trade Union League—Represented by Miss Ethel Smith, National Legislative Secretary.
Original Committee for Presentation to Capitol of Statues of Suffrage Pioneers—Represented by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper.
Susan B. Anthony League—Represented by Mrs. Anna Hendley, President.
Veterans of Foreign Wars, Auxiliary—Represented by Mrs. Margaret Jacobson, President of the D. C. Branch.
Catholic Women's Service Club—Represented by Mrs. Maurice Talty.
Women's International League—Represented by Miss Mabel Kittredge, National President.
Women's National Press Association—Represented by Mrs. Randolph Hopkins, Acting National President.
Association of Women in Public Health—Represented by Dr. Gertrude Seymour, National Officer.
National American Home Economics Association—Represented by Miss Anna Richardson, of the Federal Vocational Board.

Mrs. Warren G. Harding accepts the invitation of Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, chairman, to serve on the suffrage memorial committee

Southern League of Women Citizens—Represented by Mrs. Pauline F. Adams, National Chairman.
Stanton League—Represented by Mrs. Harriet Hifton King, President.
United Daughters of the Confederacy—Represented by Mrs. Cornelia Odenheimer, and by Miss Cordelia B. Stone, former President Generals.
Young Women's Hebrew Association—Represented by Mrs. Laura Flesher, D. C., President.
Families of the Pioneers—Represented by Mrs. Nora Blatch Barney, granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and by Miss Eleanor Anthony, great-niece of Susan B. Anthony.
National Committee of Quaker Descendants—Represented by Mrs. Susan A. Radley, Chairman.
AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.

February 16—11 a. m.

BUSINESS SESSION

Reports of Committees and Departments of Woman's Party

Chairman of Meeting—Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, D. C., member of National Advisory Council of Woman's Party.
Calling of Convention to Order—Alice Paul, N. J., National Chairman of Woman's Party.
Address of Welcome—Miss Mabel Boardman, Commissioner of District of Columbia.
Prayer—Reverend Olympia Brown, Wis., member of National Advisory Council of Woman's Party.
Report of Credentials Committee—Miss Sheldon Jackson, D. C., Chairman.
Report of Program Committee—Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C., Chairman.
Adoption of Rules of Order.
Appointment of Resolutions Committee.
Report of National Treasurer—Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Penna.
Report of National Headquarters Maintenance Committee—Mrs. William Kent, Calif., Chairman.
Report of Committee of State Chairmen—Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Del., Chairman.
Report of National Advisory Council—Mrs. John Rogers, N. Y., Chairman.
Report of National Organization Department—Miss Mabel Vernon, Del., Chairman.
Report on Preservation of Records of National Woman's Party—Mrs. Inez Haynes Irwin, Mass., author of "The Story of the Woman's Party," and member of the National Advisory Council.

February 16—2:30 p. m.

BUSINESS SESSION

Reports of Committees and Departments of Woman's Party (Continued)

Chairman of Meeting—Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse, Maine, Chairman of Maine Branch of Woman's Party.
Report of National Legislative Department—Miss Maud Younger, Calif., Chairman.
Report of National Press Department—Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel, D. C., Chairman.
Report of National Research Department—Miss Sue White, Tenn., Chairman.
Report of National Political Department—Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, D. C., Chairman.

February 16—8:15 p. m.

PROGRAMS OF WOMEN IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Chairman of Meeting—Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, N. Y.
Greeting to Foreign Visitors—Mrs. Bainbridge Colby.
Program of Women's Organizations in Armenia—Princess Anne Azgapetian of Armenia;
Program of Women's Organizations in Denmark—Madam Thit Jenson, of Denmark;
Program of Women's Organizations in Czecho-Slovakia—Miss Anna Stepanek, of Czecho-Slovakia.
Program of Women's Organizations in the Philippines—Madam de Veyra, of the Philippines;
Program of Women's Organizations in Sweden—Mrs. Velma Swanson Howard, of Sweden,
Program of Women's Organizations in France—Madam Reviére of France.
And representatives from other foreign countries.

February 17—11 a. m.

BUSINESS SESSION

Reports of National Boards of the Woman's Party on the Party's Future

Chairman of Meeting—Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, N. J., Chairman of New Jersey Branch of Woman's Party.
Reports of National Executive Committee on recommendations of committee concerning future program of Woman's Party—Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md., of National Executive Committee.
Report of National Advisory Council on recommendations of Council concerning future program of Woman's Party—Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Penna., of National Advisory Council.
Report of National Committee of State Chairmen on recommendations of State Chairman on future program of Woman's Party—Mrs. Agnes Morey, Chairman Massachusetts Branch of Woman's Party.

2:30 p. m.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMS, AFFECTING WOMEN'S INTERESTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Chairman of Meeting—Mrs. Toscan Bennett, Conn., member of Advisory Council of Woman's Party.
Program of Community Center Organization—Miss Margaret Woodrow Wilson, Director of Community Organization Board.
Program of National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, as it affects women—Miss Mary Stewart, National Corresponding Secretary.
Program of Children's Bureau—Miss Julia Lathrop, Chief.
Program of National Federation of College Women's Clubs, as it affects women—Mrs. J. C. Merriman, National President.
Program of National Consumers' League, as it affects women—Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary.
Program of National Council of Women, as it affects women—Mrs. Philip Moore, President.
Program of General Federation of Women's Clubs, as it affects women—Miss Lida Hafford, Washington Director of General Federation.
Program of U. S. Public Health Service for a health program for women—Surgeon Reserve Lydia Allen DeVilbiss.
Program of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—Miss Mabel Kittredge, President.
Program of Woman's Bureau of Department of Labor—Miss Mary Anderson, Chief.
Program of National Woman's Peace Society—Mrs. Henry Villard, President.
Program of National Woman's Trade Union League—Miss Ethel Smith, National Legislative Secretary.
Program of National W. C. T. U., as it affects women—Mrs. Ellis Yost, National Legislative Chairman.
Program of Women's Organizations concerned with entrance of women into police department and similar work—Mrs. Mina Van Winkle, Chief of Washington Bureau of Police Women.
Program of U. S. Social Hygiene Board, Miss Henrietta Additon, Executive Assistant.

8:15 p. m.

WHAT THE POLITICAL PARTIES OFFER TO WOMEN

Chairman of Meeting—Mrs. W. G. Brown, W. Va., Chairman of West Virginia Branch of Woman's Party.
Representatives of the Republican Party—Dr. Simeon Fess, National Congressional Chairman of the Republican Party; Miss Alice Robertson, Member-elect of Congress from Oklahoma.
Representative of Democratic Party—Miss Charl O. Williams, National Vice-Chairman of Democratic Party.
Representative of the Socialist Party—Congressman-elect Meyer London, from New York.
Representative of the Farmer-Labor Party—Duncan McDonald.
Representative of Committee of 48—J. A. H. Hopkins, National Chairman.

February 18—11 a. m.

BUSINESS SESSION

Discussion of Future of Woman's Party

Chairman of Meeting—Mrs. James Rector, Ohio, Member of National Advisory Council of Woman's Party.
Report of Resolutions Committee.

2:30 p. m.

BUSINESS SESSION

Discussion of Future of Woman's Party (Continued)

Chairman of Meeting—Mrs. Nelson Whittemore, Chairman of Michigan Branch of Woman's Party.
Final Report of Credentials Committee—Miss Mary H. Ingham, Penna., Vice-Chairman of Credentials Committee.
Vote on Future of Woman's Party.

8:15 p. m.

FAREWELL MEETING

Chairman of Meeting—Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y., Member of National Executive Committee of Woman's Party.
The End of the Campaign—Miss Gail Laughlin, Calif.
What the Woman's Party Accomplished—U. S. Senator-elect Thaddeus Caraway, of Arkansas.
Presentation of Picket Pins—Mrs. Richard Wainwright, D. C., member of National Executive Committee of Woman's Party.
The Future—Mrs. Josephine Preston Peabody, Mass.

Parliamentarian of Convention—Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, Conn.

CREDENTIALS

The Credentials Committee will be on duty at Woman's Party Headquarters, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C., from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m., February 12, 13, 14, and from 8 a. m. to 4 p. m., February 15. All delegates and alternates must register with the Credentials Committee before they can be admitted to the floor of the convention as delegates or alternates.

Three of the Foreign Women Who Will Speak at the Convention

Madam Thit Jensen, leading Danish author, will describe the status and program of the woman's movement in her country

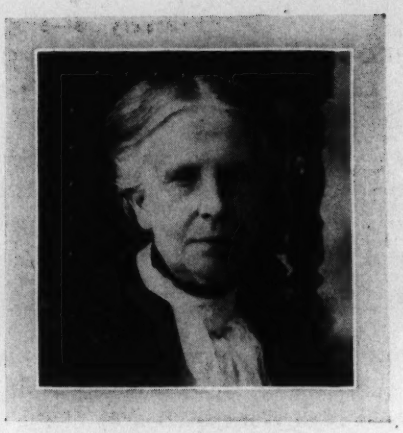
Madam de Veyra, wife of the Philippine Commissioner to the United States

Princess Anne Azgapetian, wife of General Azgapetian, of Armenia

Convention Celebrities

Miss Mabel Boardman, Commissioner of the District of Columbia, will welcome the convention to Washington

Alice Paul, national chairman of the Woman's Party, who on February 16th will call to order the national convention which will decide the future program of the Party



Rev. Olympia Brown will open the convention with prayer

Miss Julia Lathrop, chief of the Children's Bureau, will tell the convention of the needs of children

Miss Mary Anderson, chief of the Woman's Bureau, will discuss the problems of women in industry

Mrs. Izetta Jewel Brown, chairman of the session when representatives of all political parties will speak

Lucy Burns, member of the executive committee of the National Woman's Party, who will preside at the farewell session of the convention on February 18th

Mrs. James Rector, of Ohio, will be in the chair when the final vote is taken on the Party's future

Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn will preside when representatives of other women's organizations address the convention

Mrs. Richard Wainwright on the final evening will present picket pins to all who carried the picket banners

Inside or Outside the Parties?

By Anne O'Hagan

DURING the presidential campaign mercifully and automatically closed by the arrival of the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, how many women, after looking forward for years to enfranchisement as a knight to accolade, must have asked themselves whether the game had been worth the candle. For the game to which they found themselves admitted was party politics, and party politics in 1920, with a badly damaged world waiting for bandages to hold it together, seemed to some very much like a clown's antics in the presence of an earthquake.

Suffragists had been engaged for years, for generations, in the struggle for a cause. They could look back upon a past in which there was never lack of intrinsic dignity. Admitted to the electorate, welcomed clamorously, even though one suspects a trifle hypocritically, by the established political parties, it must have seemed to many of them that they had parted with dignity. They attended national conventions at which the candidates for presidential nominations maintained *clacques,* bands, cheer-leaders, the outfits of college football teams, the press agencies of vaudeville stars.

Conventions over, the newly enfranchised women saw the various candidates for office, high and low, in action. Candidate So-and-So sought the favor of his fellow Demopublicans by advertising his helpfulness to his wife on wash-day; to prove it, behold his picture taken as he hung the clothes upon the line! Candidate This-or-That of the Republocrats was photographed in the act of frying doughnuts. Candidate Otherman hurried to have the camera catch him in an unstudied moment as he put the children to bed.

Would it have been at all remarkable if a good many women, witnessing these sights at close range, should decide that, in the parties which light-heartedly butchered decorum, taste and thought to make a Roman holiday, there was no place for them? Would it be at all remarkable if a good many women should have decided to eschew politics, and a good many other women should have decided to try to maintain a wholly feminine political organization with the intention of making it a sort of balance-of-power group in American political life?

Spoils vs. Principles

Women are, in the main, realists. Last fall the intellectually clear-sighted among them, using their first chance at national political experience, saw quite distinctly that the manipulators of the political parties are not in the least realistically minded, no matter how materialistically minded they may be. In their platforms parties recognize, sonorously, the realities of human life; but they exist for gaining the spoils of Government.

Sometimes a realist in human life is elected to office; in which case he is shortly scourged as an idealist. Would it be at all remarkable if the thoughtful women, the experienced women who have been worthily engaged in a worthy struggle for years, should decide not to play the silly game with men as men had played it, but to be a force apart?

Not all women, of course, not even all able ex-suffragists, feel thus. Many of us appear to be satisfied with membership in the political parties as they are organized. Many of us believe that we can best accomplish the realities we have at heart by belonging to a woman's party *inside* instead of a woman's party *outside* the established organizations. It takes less time, those who hold this view argue with some reasonableness, to repair a house than to build one; moreover, remodeled houses have a substantial quality that new ones sometimes lack and a charm they almost always lack.

Such remodeling is not going to be an easy matter. The gentlemen who run the established political parties—who run them, please observe that I say, not who are run by them into the offices that are the show windows of the party organizations—these gentlemen are not anxious for remodeling. A new stucco front and a slight enlargement of the front door of the old houses represent the maximum of change that they are willing to allow. They boasted a good deal about the width of their front doors when the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment left them no other choice but to enlarge them; they stood outside their ancient political structures and, like barkers at the Coney Island shows, trumpeted about the wonders within, and especially about the incandescent "Welcome" ablaze over their portals. Some of us went in with gratitude and trustfulness, admiring that high-voltaged "welcome" and that fresh stucco; and some of us went in with courteous words also, but with watchful eyes for the condition of the beams and the drains. And some of us went in—let us pretend to no universal virtue as women—exactly as men have gone into politics from time immemorial—for what we could get out of them. It is such women that the denizens of the old political houses greet most warmly at the enlarged doors, under the blazing "Welcome."

The Elusive Woman's Vote

"She's got a brain like a man!" they say. "She knows a campaign ain't a Sunday school picnic. We'll run her for Congress some day when Dan wants a coupla years off. Get her busy gettin' out the women's vote in th' Eighteenth."

But frequently she has failed to get out the women's vote in th' Eighteenth. That strange, elusive thing, the women's vote, is not in the pocket of such leaders as she. Nevertheless, the credulous old party bosses will for some time continue to think her valuable to them and their aims because she speaks their language. Some day they may learn that the woman who can "get out the women's vote" is the one who speaks the language of the women—the language of human realities, peace, opportunity, freedom.

The gentlemen who run the parties have no particular objection to this language in oratorical and platform propaganda. It is only when it is concretely embodied in legislation and in enforcement of legislation that they don't want to hear it. And when it has been possible, inside the organizations, to put the sort of woman who doesn't speak it into party power, that has been done. It has not been invariable, of course. There are in all party organizations women eminent for their service in the suffrage cause, and in all the causes which were embraced under that. But those women would all be able to testify, if they were willing to, that the "Welcome" over the door shines most brilliantly on the street side of the old party house.

Many of them will stay in the house, however. They believe in the soundness of the ancient foundations; they think they can remodel the structure to the uses of the present-day world. But they realize, most of them, that their success will depend chiefly upon the formation of a strong woman's party inside the organization. They realize that the parties have welcomed women very much as the whale welcomed Jonah—for the purpose of swallowing them whole. Only the presence of an active, determined, consciously distinct women's party inside the old parties will prevent that swallowing gesture from success. If it becomes successful, the only hope for a political order that is wholesomely related to the reality of modern life, the true aim of the whole woman's movement—must be in a woman's party outside the old organizations.

Poems

Katharine Fisher

Drawings by Nina E. Allender

1420 F Street

Where our colors first flashed the low doorway is gone,
Like the pageant poured through it to flood the wide avenue,
Bright now only in memory.

There the light-hearted flocked to the new flag unfurled;
There the half-hearted scattered when the white, gold and purple
Advanced from parade into battle.

There the young-hearted, the daring and resolute,
In dim little rooms shared labor and vision;
From there they went forth.

Recruiting new comrades, who flung out the new colors
On field after field far from the low doorway
Where they flashed their first challenge.

Cameron House

A new evangel ringing through the venerable rooms;
New purple swinging where the old wistaria blooms;
Wistaria tassels swaying high and purple stripes blowing;
In and out the footsteps light of women ever going;
Feet stepping light but firm with purpose to be free.
How long must women wait for liberty?

Demure dames who danced here in eighteen-forty-eight
Dreamed not there were women then who deemed it shame to wait.
No master of the mansion guessed its destiny.
Long, long had women to wait for liberty.
Statesmen ensconced here, walled-round by volumed law,
Planned the nation's future (and their own), but none foresaw
Women in their seats demanding place within the state.
Who ever heard of women not content to wait?

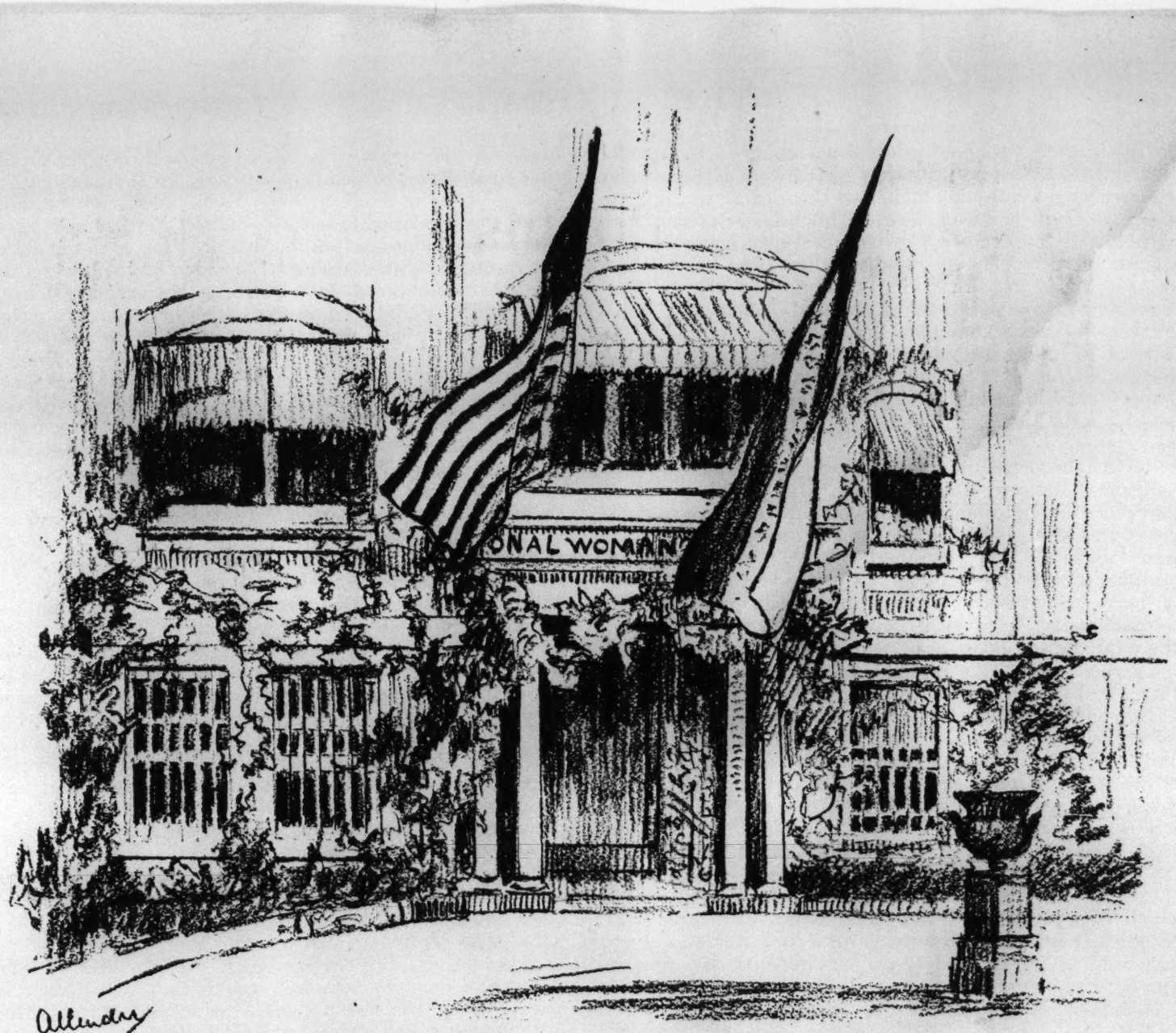
But patience rooted yesterday persistence is today;
Courage rises from oppression as the harvest from the harrow;
Defeat to woman's will is as the bowstring to the arrow;
Steel to her spirit is betrayal and delay.
Only for a moment truth is beaten down by lies;
Thrice valorous the battalion when a valiant comrade dies.
Half-mast the purple hangs among November vines;
The last plea of her it droops for lives in golden lines;
Floats high in golden lines an oriflamme to be:
How long must women wait for liberty?

O flaming banners bold!
O souls undaunted!
Words that blind the world you burn away.
Before the gates of power planted,
Challenge to all power unjust is your array.

Banners, banners, banners, billowing high and proud;
Banners, banners, banners, breaking through the crowd;
Tossing, teasing, saucy banners; restless banners, straining, snapping;
Steady, stately, silent banners; move unwavering, stand unbowed.
Banners, banners, banners, captured, trampled, torn.
"To prison with the bearers! Stamp out the message borne."
Liberty men write about. Freedom rulers fight about.
Women who would make them real of every right are shorn.

But prison bars have voices, banners torn have each a tongue.
Loud to millions now, by millions, is the new evangel sung.
Lift it on new banners, defiant, flying free!
Women will no longer wait for liberty.
Laughing in the face of power (O portentous sign!)
With light step and firm they form anew beneath the vine.
Like a sea-tide returning on a child's sand fortress,
Streaming back unbroken comes the long, bright, banner-line.

O flaming banners bold! O souls undaunted!
Lies that blind the world you burn away.
Before the gates of power planted,
Challenge to all power unjust is your array.



14 Jackson Place

In Lafayette Square, where battle-bronzes
Tell how men dominion attain,
Trees are the women's triumph-columns.
They mark where we won to a new domain
Of freedom and power. Let every woman
Hold her head high when walking there,
Remembering how we conquered by brain,
When all the old feminine folkways were failures.
Field of the Freedom of Women is Lafayette Square.

Our power we sow to reap new power.
This blind, fear-ridden world has need
Not of women as hand to serve,
Not of women as foot to follow,
But voice to command and mind to lead.
Advancing together, with heads held high,
For us no bound shall the future declare.
Nations shall hear, rulers shall heed,
The voice of women from Lafayette Square.

For we are invincible, banded together,
With streamer of victory stars unfurled,
Beacon stars, through the trees of our triumph
Flashing the call:
"Freedom for all women! Power to them all!
Life, new life, to the world!"

Three Pioneers of Woman Suffrage

By Ida Husted Harper

Author of the "Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony" and with Miss Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton of the "Official History of Woman Suffrage"

THE beginning of what could be termed a movement for the rights of women was their effort to secure the right to speak in public. There had been solitary voices in the wilderness crying to be heard, but a union of such voices with an organized force back of them was first manifest in the earliest days of the American Anti-Slavery Society formed at Philadelphia in 1833. Lucretia Mott, then about forty years old and widely known as an eloquent "Quaker" preacher, was one of the founders and it was inevitable that she should utilize her rare gifts of oratory

in this cause. She had indeed been doing so for several years, as had a few other rarely gifted women, and, when the society was formed, enough of them came to the platform to rouse the antagonism of Abolitionist leaders who were bitterly opposed to allowing women to speak in public on any subject. The society divided into two factions and in 1839 it was rent in twain on this question, the so-called Garrisonians upholding the claim of the women. Henceforth this branch championed full equality of rights for women, including the suffrage, and Lucretia Mott was the recognized leader. Her husband was a wealthy woolen importer of Philadelphia and the spacious home of James and Lucretia Mott was the centre for eminent reformers of two continents.

In 1840 occurred the famous World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London, when Lucretia, Mrs. Wendell Phillips and other distinguished women who had been sent as delegates were not permitted to take their seats because they were women. Here Elizabeth Cady Stanton, on her wedding tour, first met Lucretia Mott and afterwards wrote of her: "She was to me an entire new revelation of womanhood. * * * I shall never cease to be grateful for the patience and seeming pleasure with which she fed my hungering soul. * * * When I first heard from her lips that I had the same right to think for myself that Luther, Calvin and John Knox had, and the same right to be guided by my own convictions, I felt a new-born sense of dignity and freedom. It was like suddenly coming into the rays of the noonday sun after wandering with a rushlight in the caves of the earth." From this meeting dated the friendship which never lessened until the older woman died in 1880, aged almost 88. It was at this time in London that the two resolved to inaugurate a movement for the rights of women in the United States, but their homes were widely separated for those days; Mrs. Mott was fully occupied with other reforms; Mrs. Stanton was soon immersed in the care of young children and the project was not carried out.

Elizabeth Cady, born in 1815, was the daughter of a prominent Judge and a member of Congress in Johnstown, N. Y., and was a student in the noted Emma Willard School at Troy, which at that time offered the highest education possible for girls. In her Reminiscences she gives a graphic picture of her Calvanistic home, from which all progressive, liberal ideas were excluded, but she found her escape in the home of her cousin Gerrit Smith, a man of large means and influence and a prominent leader in the anti-slavery movement from its beginning. Here she met the leading reformers of the day, among them Henry B. Stanton, co-worker with Garrison, Phillips and the other Abolitionists, and she married him in 1840. Then came the wonderful trip to London and the acquaintance with Lucretia Mott, but eventually she lived in the semi-seclusion of a Western New York village and was largely absorbed in her growing family. Eight years later she went from her home in Seneca Falls to the neighboring town of Waterloo to a Yearly Meeting of Friends, which Lucretia Mott was to come on from Philadelphia to attend, and there was a happy reunion. Here their resolution made in London was talked over and they decided that the time had come when they could act upon it. With Mrs. Mott had come her sister, Mrs. Martha C. Wright, of Auburn, and all were guests of Mrs. Mary Ann McClintock, an influential Friend. The four then wrote the Call for the first Woman's Rights Meeting in the world and prepared the Declaration of Sentiments and Set of Resolutions which were to become immortal.

The meeting extended over two days, July 19, 20, 1848, and aroused so much interest that it adjourned to Rochester, N. Y., not far away, and here through a city press it received wide publicity. This was the home of one who was destined to be the supreme leader of the great movement for the rights of women—Susan B. Anthony. At this time, however, she was teaching in the academy at Canajoharie, in Eastern New York, and knew nothing of all this excitement, but her Father, Mother and Sister Mary signed the Declaration and told her about it when she returned. She abandoned teaching in 1849, when she was 29 years old, and gave herself to the pressing reforms of temperance and anti-slavery, no other woman's rights meetings being held until the one in Worcester, Mass., in October, 1850. She read of it in the New York *Tribune* and was deeply interested, as already her temperance work was leading her to see that women were helpless without political power. In May, 1851, she went to Syracuse to the Anti-Slavery Anniversary where William Lloyd Garrison and George Thompson, of England, were the speakers and on the way home stopped off at Seneca Falls to hear them again. Here was fulfilled her long cherished desire to meet Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who was their hostess, and from that day began a friendship which lasted without a break until the death of Mrs. Stanton, fifty-one years later.

From the meeting of these two women in 1851 the life-work of both was decided—it was to be a persistent, ceaseless, determined struggle to secure equality of rights for women. That first meeting in Seneca Falls had demanded the right of suffrage and all others and from this demand they never deviated. Miss Anthony, a born executive, was footloose and could plan conventions, legislative hearings and campaigns, and then Mrs. Stanton would come with her battery of facts, logic and argument that were invincible. In many respects they complemented each other, and always and everywhere for thirty years Lucretia Mott was their strength and inspiration. For them there was no turning aside, no yielding, no compromises. They were equally impervious to cajolery or intimidation. Other women might be deceived but their vision was clear, their knowledge of human nature thorough. They rose up unshaken after every defeat; there was no limit to their endurance, their heroism and their faith. When asked in after years if she did not often grow discouraged, Miss Anthony answered: "Never; I knew that my cause was just and I was always in good company." From the beginning the women who were foremost in this movement were among the most capable in the country although few in number.

Women of today cannot realize what it meant in the way of social ostracism, persecution, abuse and even physical danger to espouse the cause of woman's rights in the middle of the last century and for many years afterwards. No one suffered so much in these ways as Susan B. Anthony, for she was always at the front for fifty-five years, absolutely fearless and self-sacrificing. In her Biography is the record of much that was borne by the pioneers, of their labors, their hardships, their disappointments and their victories. Many of them should be commemorated by monuments and one to the three among the first and greatest of them is already finished and soon to be dedicated. This monument to the memory of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, which will be unveiled in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington on February 15, the 101st birthday of Miss Anthony, was originally three portrait busts executed by the sculptor, Mrs. Adelaide Johnson, to be placed in the Capitol after they had been exhibited at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. This never was possible until after the adoption of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and by this time Mrs. Johnson was very desirous of carving the three busts from one block of marble. Miss Alice Paul undertook through the National Woman's Party to make this great task possible, and it is this monument which will be dedicated, with beautiful ceremonies by the national organizations of women of the country, which are themselves the fruit of the suffragists' early work.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, My Mother

By Margaret Stanton Lawrence

ELIZABETH CADY was born at Johnstown, New York, November 12, 1815. Her father, Daniel Cady, was a distinguished Judge of the Supreme Court and Court of Appeals of New York. Her mother, Margaret Livingston, was the daughter of Colonel James Livingston, who served on General Washington's staff in the Revolutionary War.

Mrs. Cady was a handsome woman, full of "vim" and "go," hence Elizabeth inherited beauty, brains and fight from both sides of her ancestry.

In her father's law offices she learned, as a child, how unjust the laws were toward women. When about eight her only brother died. When she tried to console her father, his one refrain was, "Oh, if you were only a boy!"

She was the only girl at the Johnstown Academy, in a class of boys in Latin, Greek, and higher mathematics, who were preparing for college. She won many of the prizes. But, to her amazement, she found that no college in 1830 admitted girls! So she went to the Emma Willard Seminary at Troy, New York.

My mother often visited at the home of her cousin, Gerrit Smith, the great abolitionist, at Peterboro, New York. She was a beautiful young woman, I'm told, a brilliant conversationalist, a graceful dancer, played well on piano and guitar, and sang delightfully. She had many admirers. But she had a serious side to her nature, was an omnivorous reader of good books, was ever delving into social problems.

There she met Henry Brewster Stanton, a direct descendant of Elder Brewster, who came over in the *Mayflower*. He was considered the most brilliant young orator on the anti-slavery platform.

The result of that meeting in 1839 was a wedding in Johnstown in 1840. My parents sailed for England in May to attend the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London, of which my father was secretary. Several American women were sent as delegates, but were not allowed to take their seats on account of English prejudice, based on Biblical texts, so had to sit ignominiously in the gallery.

Mother sat next Lucretia Mott, one of the rejected delegates, all through the convention. They decided, on their return to America, to call a meeting to discuss Woman's Rights. For various reasons this meeting did not take place till eight years later.

On returning from Europe my parents moved to Boston, father becoming a member of the law firm of Rufus Choate. They met all the literary and reform people of that day, and took part in the great meetings that rocked Boston to its foundations.

During this period Mrs. Stanton became the mother of three boys. Radiant health was hers from birth to death. She was a beautiful housekeeper, a wonderful mother. Her babies were brought up as scientifically as those of a twentieth century matron. She was ever ready to play and sing to us; she was a famous story-teller. She was the companion we most enjoyed.

My parents moved to Seneca Falls, New York, in 1847. Soon after mother was invited to visit friends in the next village. She was so wrought up over the injustice to women that she had seen and heard, and she poured it forth with such eloquence that she stirred that circle of happily married women, including Lucretia Mott, to do and dare anything.

(*Continued on page* 352)

A Memory of Lucretia Mott

By Lucretia Mott Mitchell

POSTED on the trees along the public road, and near to the homes of well-to-do farmers in a Pennsylvania county, was a notice of one hundred dollars reward for any information concerning a likely young negro woman who had escaped from her master, and also for any clue that might lead to the arrest of anyone who had given aid or shelter to this "nigger."

Many people passing gave little heed, for there were frequently such notices throughout the country; one man, however, driving slowly along, gave interested attention to the notice and hurried home, for concealed in his house at that moment was the young woman answering the description. It was evident the "kidnappers" were on her track. Something must be done immediately. There was an anxious consultation at the house, in which father, mother and the girls all shared.

It was decided to make a trip by carriage to Philadelphia and to drive straight to the home of Lucretia Mott. Not for one moment was there any doubt as to the readiness of Mr. and Mrs. Mott to open their doors to such a visitation.

Isabella Howard, the name which had been given the slave girl to help conceal her identity, was to be well veiled and to sit on the back seat of a two-seated one-horse carriage. A large man and one of his daughters would sit in front and seemingly be making a leisurely trip to the city. At last permission was given to the little girl of the family to be the one to ride in the front.

It was evening and lights were being lighted when the one-horse carriage entered the city and stopped before one of the typical red-brick houses of Philadelphia. The door opened. The driver received a hearing, and without delay the travelers were ushered in.

This is the child's first memory of Lucretia Mott as she greeted her country visitors in a delightfully gracious manner. Every difficulty seemed to vanish in the light of her radiant hospitality. Her family were around her, her husband standing tall beside her; her children, growing young men and women, were gathered about the piano. The warmth of the house, the lights reflected in the polished furniture, all seemed a dream, but in reality there stood the queen of it all, gentle, happy, capable, ready to act.

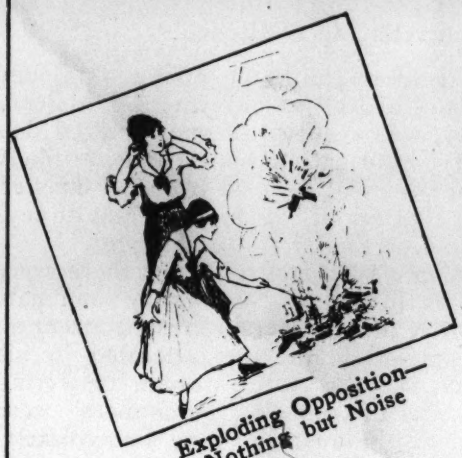
Lucretia Mott, small in stature, with a broad, smooth forehead and with a "look of command," was born in Nantucket, of Quaker parents, in 1793.

The entire community of Nantucket was steeped in the spirit of Quakerism. Here was a colony of God-fearing people, who, having passed through the purifying fire of persecution for their faith, were living lives consecrated to action upon conviction.

Captain Coffin, Lucretia Mott's father, was engaged in the sea trade with East India. He was often gone long from home in his voyage to China. At these times her mother, Anna Coffin, with six little children, Lucretia being the second child of the little flock, carried on the activities of the home. Lucretia, writing in her diary of those early days, said, "I always loved the good in childhood and desired to do right. In those early years I was actively useful to my mother who, in the absence of my father on his long voyages, carried on a mercantile business and often made trips to Boston to purchase goods.

"The exercise of women's talents in this line, as well as the general care which devolved on them in the absence of their husbands, tended to develop and strengthen them mentally and physically."

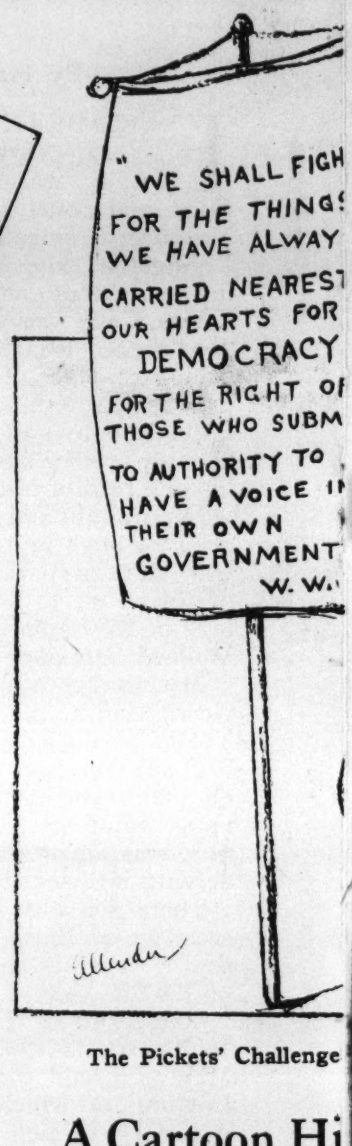
(*Continued on page* 352)



Exploding Opposition—Nothing but Noise

A Hard Lesson to Learn

"Anthony" or "Shafroth"—he can't take both roads at once



The Pickets' Challenge

Women Voters: Stand by Your Disfranchised Sisters!
The Call to the West, 1914

Her Hat is in the Ring
The Woman's Party Formed, 1916

Drafted to Fight for Democracy—The Girl He Left Behind Him

Headquarters for the next six months: Jail

The President to the Senate: "Behave; the neighbors are looking"

A Cartoon Hi

THE history of the national suffrage, wi momentary setbacks, it and graphically in the Allender, which appeare every issue of "The new maneuver by s cartoons also reflect th developed by the leade

Realizing the tremen lion votes in the ha these leaders began e to force suffrage actio its leader, whose respo constantly emphasized

Consistently the Wo charted by this princi passage of the Susan of a suggested deviat ment; in spite of ple fight for democracy a fought for it abroad; t of Representatives, and

Ratification intensifi parties for suffrage c the last days of the st publican "hare" with th its credit, was finally "tortoise" when Tenne state to the suffrage a

story of Suffrage

Woman's Party campaign for
th its hard won advances, its
final triumph, is told simply
cartoons by Mrs. Nina E.
d, beginning in 1915, in nearly
Suffragist." Reflecting each
ffragists and "antis" these
e consistent political strategy
rs of the Woman's Party.
dous power of the four mil-
ds of the Western women,
arly to organize that power
n from the ruling party and
nsibility for such action was

man's Party held to its course,
ple and directed toward the
Anthony amendment, in spite
toward the Shafroth amend-
during the war to forget the
home while our soldiers
ntil the President, the House
finally, the Senate were won.
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irty-nine state ratifications to
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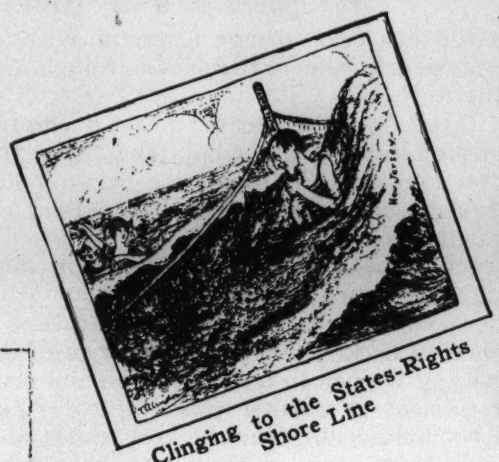

Clinging to the States-Rights Shore Line

Charles Evans Hughes comes out for Federal Suffrage

Democratic Donkey: "I shall be terribly antagonized if you use that key (the vote)"

"Getting Hot"
The Senate Holds Out for a Year

Now All Together for the 36th
Ratification Develops Rivalry

"Squeeze Out One More Vote, Mr. President"

From Prison to People on the Prison Special

The Democratic Tortoise with the 36th State

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, My Mother

(*Continued from page* 349)

They decided to have a public meeting to discuss the position of women, and then and there wrote the call for the first Women's Rights Convention, to be held at Seneca Falls, New York, July 19-20, 1848.

The first day of the convention my mother offered a resolution demanding the ballot for women, as the keynote to the situation. Even Lucretia Mott deprecated the step. It caused hot debate for over two hours, but was finally carried; though not unanimously, as the other resolutions were. So the demand of Elizabeth Cady Stanton from the first was *"Votes for Women!"*

Miss Anthony was not present at that first convention in 1 48; she did not join the movement till 1 51.

Together with her coadjutors, Mrs. Stanton carried on herculean labors. Conventions, speeches before schools, colleges, legislatures, followed thick and fast. Newspaper and magazine articles appeared. Soon the whole nation was stirred up!

We moved to New York City in 1862. In 1863 mother and Miss Anthony formed the Woman's Loyal League, of which Mrs. Stanton was president.

In 1867 they established *The Revolution,* a political newspaper; mother was editor-in-chief.

In 1869 was founded the National Woman's Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Stanton was president over twenty-five years.

The National Amendment

At the Washington Convention, in 1878, Mrs. Stanton, for the first time, brought forward the demand for a separate woman suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution. Senator Sargent, of California, introduced such an amendment for her. Heretofore efforts had been made to change, in the interests of women, the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments as they were passed by Congress. Mother's great speech on "A Sixteenth Amendment" may be read in Vol. II, History of Woman Suffrage, pages 348-355.

Mother conceived the idea of the International Council of Women, and returned from Europe, with several of the foreign delegates, to preside at the first meeting held in Washington, D. C., March, 1888.

On her eightieth birthday she was tendered a wonderful celebration in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, by all the women's organizations in the country, in recognition of her great services to her sex.

She it was who first asked for the ballot for women, and was the first to push for an amendment to the United States Constitution. She helped secure property rights for married women, the right to their wages, and equal guardianship laws. She was active in securing college and medical education for women. She was largely instrumental in revolutionizing the divorce laws of the land. We women of today owe a great debt for the things we enjoy to the ability and self-sacrifice of Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Hers was a wonderful old age; she didn't know what it was to be ill. Within two weeks of her death she said to a reporter, "Life has been a perpetual joy to me; with each opening day I go about my duties with renewed zeal."

Two days before her death she finished, for the press, a letter to President Roosevelt, who was writing his annual message to Congress, urging him to add a clause on the Woman Question.

On October 26, 1902, the day she died, there appeared on the editorial page of the New York *American* an able article that she had dictated the previous day. Thus the last document she signed was a plea for liberty and justice for women.

A Memory of Lucretia Mott

(*Continued from page* 349)

At thirteen years of age Lucretia, with a younger sister, was sent to the "Friends' Boarding School," at Nine Partners, N. Y.

At this school she became a fast friend of Sarah Mott, a sister of James Mott, whom she afterward married.

After two years as pupil, she was appointed assistant teacher at a salary of one hundred dollars a year. At the end of the year she received further promotion as regular teacher with the inducement that in this position her younger sister would be entitled to her education.

She says, "My father was at that time in successful business in Boston, but with his views of the importance of training women to usefulness, he and my mother gave their consent to another year being devoted to school."

In her nineteenth year she and James Mott were married. In their young married life there were many turns of fortune, all of which she met in heroic manner.

The "Call" to Public Life

When their little family was growing about them and Mr. Mott was becoming prosperous in business, Mrs. Mott, now twenty-five years of age, writes, "I felt called to a more public life of devotion to duty, and I engaged in the ministry of the Society of Friends. With perfect reliance upon the divine inpouring of the spirit and a remarkable felicity of speech, it is not to be wondered at that she became an inspiring preacher and lecturer.

To show the breadth of her sympathy and, in her intense love for humanity, the grasp she had upon the great topics calling for thought, the following excerpts are taken from her diary:

"The highest evidence of a sound faith being the practical life of the Christian, I have felt a far greater interest in the moral movements of the age than in any theological discussion. My sympathy was early enlisted for the poor slave—the unequal condition of women in society also early impressed my mind—the temperance reform engaged my attention—the cause of peace has had share of my sympathy—the oppression of the working classes by existing monopolies and the lowness of wages often engaged my attention—but the millions of downtrodden classes being the greatest sufferers, I felt bound to plead their cause in season and out of season."

In all her efforts she had the cordial support of her husband. The names of James and Lucretia Mott were inseparably linked in their public activities.

She writes, "In 1840 a World's Anti-Slavery Convention was called in London. Women from Boston, New York and Philadelphia were delegates to that convention. I was one of the number, but on our arrival in England our credentials were not accepted because we were women." This brought the woman question more forcibly than ever to her view. She says, "The misrepresentation, ridicule and abuse heaped upon this reform (the equality of the sexes) as well as other reforms do not in the least deter me from my duty."

The result of the meeting, at this time in London, of Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton has often been told, and the consequent call of the first Woman's Rights Convention held in Seneca Falls, New York, July 19 and 20, 1843.

Thus she grew an embodiment of a gentle, exalted spirit. She was a perfect helpmate, a loving mother and an inspired crusader in the cause of humanity, always proclaiming the gospel as interpreted to her and holding sternly to the principle of seeking "Truth for Authority, Not Authority for Truth."

The Maternity Bill

By Madeleine Z. Doty

[The bill for the "public protection of maternity and infancy," passed by the Senate on January 18, is important because it is the first piece of national legislation behind which large bodies of women have united since the suffrage victory. The action of Congress affords a real test, therefore, of the attitude of lawmakers toward such legislation. Miss Doty, after first-hand study of the situation, judges the apparent victory in the Senate as in reality a defeat. Senator Sheppard, who fathered the bill in the Senate, explains it as, in view of the general impetus toward Congressional economy, a remarkable triumph. The bill is now before the House of Representatives.— EDITOR'S NOTE.]

"I SUPPOSE I'll have to vote for it. I don't want to. I am against it, but all the women are for it."

These were the words of a Senator about the Maternity Bill. Woman suffrage is having its effect. But the men in Congress will not do women's bidding willingly. We are voters now and not openly to be defied, but secretly, by trickery, women are to be kept from power.

The fate of the Maternity Bill in the Senate is an example. It was apparently passed, but in reality defeated. The men played a game. They threw dust in the eyes of the women. They took the heart out of the bill.

The Capitol stands on a hill. On one side is the Senate office building, on the other the House office building, and opposite the great library. From the raised terrace on which these buildings stand, one sees the city stretching away in the distance. The Washington monument, a slender shaft of white granite, springs from the city, elusive and alluring. The white clouds race across the blue sky, aeroplanes fly overhead, the flag floats gaily from the Capitol. The buildings, their setting, the surrounding country, with its strip of river, all thrill one with a sense of beauty and power.

Then one enters the Capitol and instantly comes disillusion.

One is suffocated in petty ideas and smothered in steam.

Back and forth through marble corridors one tramps, with aching feet and head. The qualifications for Congress are legs and lungs.

The woman lobbyist needs legs of steel, feet of iron, rubber soles and heels, impervious lungs, a relish for dirty hot air, and patience in dealing with all sorts of men.

Adequate patience in dealing with Senators is difficult. They rise in the Senate and talk endlessly. Nothing can stop a Senator. They do not listen to each other, and in order to have an audience, they have invented a rule that no one can read or write in the gallery. The women must sit and listen.

Probably the reason women of primitive days did not take part in Government, was because they did not take it seriously. They considered it a harmless diversion for the men and said: "Let them get together in a tent and talk, it will keep them out of mischief and from under our feet, while we do the world's work, the feeding, clothing and rearing of children."

From these early gatherings in a tent at which men were left to their own devices, evil resulted. They made laws which affected mother and the home. They put children to work in factories, they would not build enough schools, they made bad reformatories, they killed men, women and children by war and by blockades. They generally made such a mess of things that women finally could stand it no longer. So now we must leave our homes and sit in the tent with them, in order to protect our babies and our homes.

Take the case of the Maternity Bill which was supported by the Children's Bureau in Washington, of which Julia Lathrop is the head. It provided for instruction in the hygiene of maternity and infancy and, where necessary, free medical care and nursing for mothers and infants, at home or in hospital, at the time of childbirth.

The appropriation for this bill was two million dollars, to be increased gradually, until in 1926 the amount reached four millions. The Federal Government was to cooperate with the States and the appropriation made to each State, to be in proportion to the population and with the understanding that the State contribute a like amount.

Nearly every woman's organization in the United States was back of this bill. There were representatives of the Federated Women's Clubs, The League for Women Voters, The Women's Christian Temperance Union, The Young Women's Christian Association, The Daughters of the American Revolution and The Association of Collegiate Alumnae. Jeanette Rankin, the first woman who ever entered Congress, was lobbying for the bill.

Two years ago, when Jeanette Rankin was still in Congress, she had introduced a similar bill. But then women hadn't the vote and the bill was sent to a committee and buried there. The men didn't make any pretense of considering it. But today women have the vote, so Senators talked sweetly and said of course they would vote for the Maternity Bill.

The bill was reported out late Wednesday afternoon by Senator France of Maryland. By Thursday morning the opponents had their plans laid. Senator Charles Thomas of Colorado was the one who came forward to make trouble. Thomas is a Democrat. He is seventy-two and was not reelected. His term expires in March. He could afford to antagonize the women. He has nothing to lose. He was made the scapegoat. Before he started in, Thursday morning, the calendar was called. It hadn't been called for days. That took about two hours. Then Thomas began. He talked until after four. He got off all the stock arguments about state's rights, national expenditure and woman's place is in the home. By that time the opponents figured there wouldn't be a quorum, and there wasn't. But La Follette suddenly turned up and there was. So they made a motion to postpone proceedings until the next day.

On Friday morning Senator Warren, a Republican, took his turn in attacking the bill. Neither party was fathering the bill and the Senators were not going to give the women a chance to hold either one responsible for its defeat.

Senator Warren is seventy-six. He has been reelected, but like Thomas, he hasn't much to lose. He can afford to run the risk of not being elected when he is eighty-two.

He talked and talked about the crime of spending two million dollars a year which was later to be increased to the tremendous sum of four million, until the women in the gallery wanted to shout down: "Five million dollars a day are spent for war, to take life; we ask only two million a year to save life!"

It was hours before Warren stopped. Every one was utterly exhausted. It began to seem unimportant whether the Maternity Bill was passed or not. That was part of the game.

Then Reed Smoot of Utah stepped in. He made believe to be the women's best friend, and then double-crossed them. He moved to amend. He suggested that the Maternity Bill instead of being administered by a Board, consisting of the Secretary of Labor, the Chief of the Children's Bureau and the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, be placed wholly in the hands of the Children's Bureau.

This was what the women wanted most, but hadn't

dared ask for. It meant women would administer the bill. The women gasped. They smiled at Smoot. They couldn't believe their ears.

But at this point Senator Hoke Smith rose, apparently to do battle against the bill and Senator Smoot, but really to help along the game. Senator Smith wanted to amend Smoot's amendment. He wanted to take the bill away from the Children's Bureau and put it wholly in the hands of the Surgeon General. "The Public Health Service was the department to look after it," he declared. "The bill then would be administered by four hundred expert men who really know something about the matter." (The Senator evidently thinks maternity is a man's subject.)

Of course the women didn't want this. They agreed to Smoot's amendment and it was passed almost unanimously.

That was just what the opposition wanted. It was all a game. As soon as the bill was securely lodged in the hands of the Children's Bureau, one man after another rose to insist that the Children's Bureau knew nothing about medicine and must therefore not be allowed to provide medical and nursing care for mothers and babies. The bill must be amended. Senator France was bullied. Without consulting the women, he consented to have the nursing and medical care cut out. The women were too weary and dazed to protest. They did not realize what had happened. But the bill now read, that mothers could be given instruction, but no help. If a woman hadn't money, she must die without aid, die clutching the *knowledge* of what ought to have been done and hadn't, to save her and the child.

It was now easy to make the final amendment. The appropriation was cut in half—only half the amount was needed to give instruction, if there was to be no aid.

As I left the Capitol, I thought about the women for whom we had tried to pass the bill. I remembered the case of one woman in particular. She lived on a lonely farm. The doctor was twenty miles away. When her time came, her husband saddled the horse and went for the doctor. She was left alone in her agony. Hours later the two men returned. But they could not help her—it was too late. The baby came into the world with closed eyes, and the mother died.

And the men up on the hill would not let us have two million to save 23,000 mothers like her, and 250,000 babies. Are we going to let them refuse us?

Fashion and Feminism

An Interview with Paul Poiret

By Sally Bird

HOW far is a woman who may at last vote for president, governor, and sheriff, entitled to decide for herself what clothes she will wear? May she reveal twelve vertebrae to the butler at a dinner-party, or only nine? And if she may not settle these matters herself, who is to settle them?

I got as far as that in an effort to philosophize about woman's dress in its relation to morality, and then I decided to consult an authority on the subject. So I went to Monsieur Paul Poiret, because I recalled that it was precisely one of M. Poiret's gowns that started one of the most violent of the recent controversies on the subject.

"Monsieur Poiret," I said, "the tendency of the modern feminine costume to reveal larger and larger areas of the wearer is disturbing many good people in America. They think there is a relation between this immorality, as they call it, in dress, and the feminist as well as the moral, political and economic upheaval that the world is passing through. Will you give me your opinion about it?"

M. Poiret did not laugh, as one might have expected, nor even smile. He answered with the utmost gravity:

"Dress has nothing to do with morality. The difficulty is that there are many people with an inborn hatred of what is beautiful. Some people, you know, detest beauty because it gives pleasure. They rage against the well-dressed woman because she looks happy and because she spreads happiness around her. That is the typical Puritan spirit.

"Of course, the Puritans have to find a pretext for their prejudices, and so they talk about morality. But history shows there is no relationship whatever between morality and dress. There are savage tribes, for example, that wear almost nothing, and yet they have the strictest moral codes known. On the other hand, Mohammedan women are not even permitted to show their faces in public—and with all that precaution, Mohammedan morals leave much to be desired, from a Western point of view.

Moral But Inartistic

"Speaking quite scientifically and historically, there would be no moral damage done if people wore no clothes at all. But, aside from the risks to health, the effect would be most inartistic, for few human figures are perfect.

"It is, therefore, the province of dress to idealize, as it were, the human body, and this is accomplished by concealing its defects and emphasizing its good points. The costume must, moreover, harmonize with the character of the individual, and bring out the various traits that go to make up personality.

"Thus dressing is indeed an art, and can have no more concern with morality than has painting or music. Nobody but a fanatic nowadays thinks of criticizing a portrait from the point of view of whether the collar is painted too low."

"And yet," I interposed, "people do try to raise a moral issue over this question, and there have even been laws passed, in America, about the length of skirts and of bathing costumes."

This time M. Poiret *did* laugh.

"As soon as laws begin to be made," he resumed, "the moral issue is dead The Puritan busybodies find that they are getting to be ridiculous, and so they try to pass the responsibility for dress-supervision on to the police. But the police don't like to be ridiculous, either, and the law gradually slumps into disuse.

"Of course, the 'old-fashioned man' who is as yet not adjusted to the idea of equality for women, is clinging desperately to his prerogative of censoring feminine attire. Just as your chauffeur or your butler or your policemen or street-car conductor does not wear clothes of his own choosing, but is obliged to wear what is prescribed by the master or employer, so the man who still likes to think of himself as the 'head of the household' resents seeing women dressed in such a way as to emphasize their independence and individuality.

"That accounts for much of the talk about dress immorality—it is due to the feeling among men of the possessive type that their position of ownership is threatened. In this they are, of course, supported by women of the submissive—what you call 'clinging vine' type.

"But the modern tendency is marked, and it will continue in spite of all the resistance that its various enemies can devise. This tendency is to recognize dress as an art, and one of the greatest arts, for its province is that of liberating the expression of individuality."

Woman and the Common Law

By Sue S. White

DURING the last days of the fight for suffrage, it was frequently said that "everything except the ballot had been won." This is not true. There are still sex discriminations present in the law which can be remedied by legislative or Congressional action. There are still discriminations in the political organizations which can be remedied by pressure. There are still discriminations in the educational and economic fields for which women can and will find some redress.

Aside from the positive discrimination, there is the lack of protection from discrimination. This was very clearly shown by a recent report of the Woman's Bureau of the Department of Labor, which pointed out that women were excluded from sixty per cent of the civil service examinations in the six months from January 1, 1919, to June 30, 1919, and a further discrimination in salaries paid to women. The whole question of woman's employment in civil service is left to the discretion of heads of departments. Whether examinations are opened to both sexes or closed to either sex, lies entirely with these heads of departments. There is a statute, passed in 1876, which shows even more clearly the attitude toward women. It says: "Whenever in the judgment of the head of any department the duties assigned to a clerk of one class can be as well performed by a clerk of a lower class or by a *female clerk*, it shall be lawful for him to diminish the number of clerks of the higher grade and increase the number of clerks of the lower grade.

Coverture Not a Fiction

A married woman, under the common law, was absolutely under the control of the husband, and although the law has been graduall y modified through the slow development of centuries, the theory has not changed, and jurists recognize it today when called upon to decide cases involving the rights of women, where the theory has not been specifically abrogated by statutes. Lawyers speak of the disability of coverture as a "fiction of the law," yet they speak of it, and it is a theory that prevails and persists.

The husband has the right to fix the place of abode, implied from his duty to provide a home. A refusal on the part of the wife to live in the home which he selects because of a difference of choice between them, constitutes her a deserter in the meaning of the divorce laws. This is the common law rule now in force in all states.

There is a California statute expressly providing that for the purposes of voting, the residence of the husband is the residence of the wife. The Attorney General of Texas has ruled to the same effect, and the same is no doubt true everywhere. It would also affect the wife's right to contract if living separate and apart from her husband in a different state where the laws as to her right to contract vary. It is this common law rule of domicile that is at the bottom of the federal statute casting upon American women who marry foreigners the nationality of their husbands.

It is often said that this is not a discrimination, because it is offset by the duty of the husband to provide a home and support his family. However, the tendency of pauper legislation is to place upon the wife a responsibility for the support of the family. A Georgia case held: "The house in which the husband and wife live is the house of the husband, though the wife pays the rent and supports the husband." And in such a case the husband could invite whom he pleased or close the door to whom he pleased, regardless of the wife's wishes. Such instances might arise that would be embarrassing to her without amounting to legal "cruelty" on his part.

Most of the states have equal guardianship, but underneath the statutes the courts recognize the common law rule that the father is the natural guardian of the child. By statute in Alabama the father may appoint a guardian by will, but the mother is entitled to the custody of the person (as against the testamentary guardian) until the ward is fourteen years of age.

In Delaware the statute is: "A father may, by deed or last will, name a guardian for his child, who shall be appointed if there be no just cause to the contrary." There is a statute also in Delaware as to apprentices, which is especially interesting in view of the order in which the parents and guardian are named: The Father, or if there be no father residing in the state, the guardian, or if there be also no guardian, the mother of a minor, shall have power to bind him as an apprentice.

In Florida, fathers may appoint guardians by deed or will, but mothers may not. The states of Maryland, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, also give the father the right to appoint a guardian by will, event hough the mother survives him. Georgia, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota and Wisconsin give the mother some right only provided she remain a widow.

The laws as to succession and as to property and contractual rights are so varied that it is not practicable to go into details. The changes have been made not only state by state, but also piecemeal in the respective states. The "married women's bills" have often but not always been a material advancement. In Florida she has her separate estate under the statute, but it remains in the "care and management of the husband." In Arkansas the wife can contract for many things, but not for labor or services in certain instances, unless approved by the husband. In Indiana she may not be surety, although she may contract generally. There is a Georgia decision to the effect that in case of an injury which affects her earning capacity the husband, and not she, has the right to sue for her earnings.

The discrimination in holding office is in most instances one of practice, but there is at least one state, Georgia, which has a statute declaring women shall not hold any civil office nor perform any civil function unless especially authorized by law. On the other hand, California has written into her fundamental law, as Article XX, Section 18 of her constitution: "No person shall, on account of sex, be disqualified from entering upon or pursuing any lawful business, vocation or profession."

Such a provision should be written into the constitution of every state in the Union.

Three Needed Reforms

Because of our forty-eight written state constitutions, it is impossible to plan reforms by identical laws. For instance, to make women eligible for jury service in one state might require an amendment to the state constitution, while in another, only a statute, and in another, their eligibility may be the automatic result of the suffrage amendment.

There are, however, a number of general propositions which can be defined as meeting the situation, if applied by the proper method to the existing laws in each state. These propositions are:

Complete removal of the disability of coverture.
Eligibility to office and jury service without regard to sex.
Equal rights of guardianship and control and custody of children.

Since the suffrage amendment is a part of the federal constitution, it is possible that the National Congress could pass a statute giving the married woman the right to fix her own place of residence as it affects her right to vote. Undoubtedly Congress should change the law in regard to the citizenship of women, and protect their rights in the civil service.

A Woman's Magazine and Why

By Freda Kirchwey

A NEW sort of woman's magazine is needed.

The "necessary first step" has been taken—the vote is won. You, Mary Jones, who have been resolutely keeping off the dangerous subject of birth control for fear it might prejudice the men who could give or withhold the vote, can now press ahead toward your particular next step. And you, Sara Smith, who turned aside from your trade union activities to win the vote, can throw your strength into the fight for industrial equality for women—a more formidable fight than the political skirmish we have won. And, Agnes Brown, you who have dressed yourself with such meticulous propriety, and allowed fashion to rule your appearance and to ruin your comfort—until the vote was won, you used to sigh, women had to look the way men expected them to—now you can turn your energy and your artistic skill to freeing women's bodies from the dreary confines of fashion by designing clothes that stand for independence and activity and vivid beauty. And thousands of others of you—the time has come when you can begin to feel your way to the next steps: cooperative nurseries to solve the problem of the ignorant nurse-maid and the working mother; equal citizenship laws for men and women; an equal chance for women to enter public office; a decent, intelligent consideration of illegitimacy and prostitution; pensions for all mothers and protection for all babies; and liberal divorce laws.

These are a handful of the questions you want discussed. As you read them a dozen more will spring into the mind of each of you; questions that rise out of your work and play and personal relations; public questions of your town or your state or your nation. You want to touch women in other countries, to feel their minds and know their desires; you want, perhaps, to spread the feminist revolution through a militant women's internationale. You want to gather the minds of women together, to focus them through some strong lens on all these questions.

Husbands, Babies and Work

That is one reason why we need a new sort of woman's magazine. Another reason is to be found in the existing woman's magazines. Have you ever read one? Undoubtedly you have. They differ from each other sufficiently for circulation purposes—and yet essentially they are all the same. One has more fashions, another more stories, another more helpful hints for housekeepers; but they are all imbued with one deep purpose—to make a domestic career endurable to all married women. They will tell a story of how a woman, bowed under the care of too many household ornaments and dinner dishes, became free through the simple expedient of rolling up the rugs and storing them in the attic and getting her children to help with the housework. In the final happy scene we see her able to join her children in their games and with them to listen to her husband's thrilling tales of life out in the great world—where he sells something. (Do we ever hear of a family gathered around the open fire in the living room to hear a mother's adventures in the world; or of a home so organized that its duties are faithfully divided and its responsibility shared by both its master and its mistress?) There are a thousand variations on this theme, but the theme is always the same—a pleasant, cretonne-decked home with a woman in it surrounded by electrical labor-saving devices, and a man to earn the family bread and do occasional bits of light carpentering around the house, and a baby who is laid on a modern nursery dressing table and dressed in a new easy-to-iron creeper and a crocheted cap and sweater (Pattern No. 876543).

A great many of us have homes and husbands and babies, but some of us also work for the family bread—and want to know how other women do it. And some of us have no home but a furnished room and find discussions of crocheted caps a little remote. And some of us are interested in a wholly new sort of home—a home based on the cooperation of men and women who must all work and who believe that even housekeeping must eventually become the specialized task of professionals.

The Magazine Home

The "home" of the woman's magazine looks very substantial and efficient; it seems to be running smoothly—in the pages of its many organs. But is it? Only last month one of the largest of these magazines made public the results of a contest on the age-long question: What's the matter with marriage? In publishing the prize-winning letters the editor felt constrained to say, "We were literally swamped in a sea of marital unrest. . . . But don't let us forget that there are some happily married people in this great land of ours." The picture of American married life—the "home"—is drawn in stark, revealing, cynical lines. Prize-winner No. 1 announces flatly that "the basis of all love is freedom—and marriage is a tie that binds," and drearily suggests that although there is "something wrong with a system that fails to give both parties to the contract a square deal," there seems to be little to do about it. "The only argument with the east wind is to put on your overcoat." No. 2 advocates what appears to be an almost wolfish sense of humor as the only way to make married life endurable. No. 3 is bitter to a terrifying degree over the fate that compels women, for the sake of bearing children and rearing them after they are born, to be tied to a man—in her case "the animated stomach the law calls my husband." No. 4 is optimistic about marriage if it is supported by four essential qualifications: humor, forbearance, economic independence for the wife, thoughtful courtesy. No. 5 catalogs "ten concrete and pertinent weak spots in the institution" of marriage, and could give "a hundred more." Thus does cynicism invade the very temple of domestic optimism, of feminine contentment.

The fact is that women, whether they have worked for the vote or whether they have stuck steadfastly and unquestioningly to their dinner dishes, are discontented. Some want wider political rights, some want wider legal and industrial rights, all want wider human rights. They want to control their part in work and play and love and childbearing and the thousand activities that depend upon these—and to do this they must continue to be sex-conscious until they have abolished sex-distinction and achieved actual equality.

For this reason, above all others, I believe we must have a new sort of woman's magazine.

Contributors' Column

Madeleine Z. Doty is a student of the feminist movement in Europe and America, and author of "Behind the Battle Line," and "Around the World in 1918.

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Feminism in Foreign Countries

The Woman Movement in France

By Katharine Anthony

This is the last of a series of four articles by Miss Anthony on European feminism. The first three described the woman movement in England, Scandinavia and middle Europe

THE woman movement owes a debt of gratitude to Messieurs Rousseau and Bonaparte which is not sufficiently acknowledged. These gentlemen have stimulated more good feminist literature by their anti-feminist pronouncements than could have been inspired by generations of patient propaganda. It was Jean Jacques and his silly "Sophie" that drove Mary Wollstonecraft to the production of the brilliant and immortal Vindication; while Napoleon, with his neurotic prejudice against women, has greatly helped to swell the volume of liberal thought concerning woman's position in the state. "There is one thing which is not French," said Napoleon, "and that is a woman who may do what she pleases." It is not in healthy human nature, masculine or feminine, to fail to respond to a double-dare like this.

But unfortunately for the woman's cause, Napoleon expressed his ardent anti-feminism in deeds as well as words. The Code Napoleon was a piece of Blue Beardism in legislation from which the women of France—and other countries as well—are still suffering today. The French feminists are still toilsomely engaged in the effort to remove its barbarous relics from the civil law of the country. It has some features which are more akin to a régime of Turks than to the legislation of Western Europe. It has imposed a special handicap on the French woman movement, from which English, Norse, and German feminism have been fortunately free.

French women, according to Napoleon, existed alone for the production of French population. "General, who in your opinion, is the greatest of women?" asked Mme. de Staël. "She who bears the most children," was the reply. This became the standardized view of the French state, while the national birth-rate declined at a rate which left all the other countries far, far behind. It is sometimes asserted that the woman movement is to blame for the falling birth-rate, but the country in which the movement has attained the least visible momentum is also the country in which the greatest decline has occurred. It is also the country in which the strongest tendency has existed to place all the responsibility for the number of children entirely in the hands of the male parent. The newly constituted Government Council, formed by a measure of 1920 to consider methods of encouraging the birth-rate, is composed of twenty-five men and one woman. The sole woman member is a distinguished advocate of votes for women with anti-feminist views on the subject of birth-control; that is to say, she favors a population policy which appeals primarily to "those men who honorably create and assume the responsibility of large families" instead of directly addressing itself to those citizens who bear and nurse and rear all the people of the nation.

"French feminism is for the moment keenly focused on woman suffrage, for the suffrage bill, which was passed with an overwhelming majority in the Chamber of Deputies over a year ago, is still blocked by an obdurate Upper House. Once the suffrage question has been eliminated from the foreground, the chore immediately ahead will be the abrogation of the law against the investigation of paternity. This law, together with its logical companion-piece, the réglementation of prostitution, is the characteristic contribution of Napoleon to the solution of the sex problem.

"The woman's cause in France has never lacked the support of illustrious names. Where it has lagged has been in the vitality of its organization. In France women have never really 'got together' in the way in which English and American women have done. French feminism has still much to learn from French unionism."

French feminism is at the present moment keenly focused on woman suffrage, for the question of political emancipation is still undecided. The chief political argument brought forward in the allied countries at the close of the war—that women had contributed so splendidly to the so-called victory—applies with greater force in France than anywhere else. Frencch women performed miracles of industry in munition factories during the war. The prohibition of night-work was abolished, and the production of the night-shift was equal to that of the day-shift. The women stuck to their work more closely than the English—there was an almost entire absence of lost time among them. British officials were amazed at the intensity of production and the good time-keeping of the French munitioners. And still their surpassing wartime record has not yet availed to win for them the political rights which the women of the allied, enemy, and neutral countries already enjoy.

The suffrage bill, which was passed with an overwhelming majority in the Chamber of Deputies over a year ago, is still blocked by an obdurate Upper House. The Senate cannot find time for discussion of the measure. The situation is reminiscent of a similar block which occurred in Denmark six years ago, when the suffragists reacted to the senatorial obstruction with a vigorous question as to what was the use of having a Senate anyway. But to demand with any effectiveness from the French Senate its parliamentary *raison d'être*, the suffragists would need to have a better understanding with the radical elements in politics and labor than they now possess; and French labor would need to have a keener appreciation of the value of woman suffrage than it has ever yet manifested. In the end, suffrage must win; but perhaps the women will find their strongest aid in the force of surrounding example. France will hardly be able to maintain an anti-suffrage oasis in the midst of western civilization. It will be obliged to level up to the prevailing moderate republican standard.

In the face of repeated disappointments and postponements, the suffrage movement continues onward with its

usual determination and its usual decorum. There is no militant group and no resort to militant tactics. Momentum has been added and adherents have been gained, but nobody apparently is really very mad. This cannot be because the organization of rudeness is wholly foreign to the French temperament, or that French women do not know the spirit of rebellion. In the great Revolution, the contrary was abundantly demonstrated. Perhaps it was that tremendous rage, resulting in so little that the idealistic spirit valued, which exhausted the fount of revolutionary enthusiasm and left a curious lasting legacy of spiritual fatigue. There are some disappointments which are too great for nations as for individuals. French women, at any rate, have little zest for protest.

Once the suffrage question has been eliminated from the foreground of French feminism, the chore immediately ahead will be the abrogation of the law against the research of paternity. This law, together with its logical companion-piece, the réglementation of prostitution, is the characteristic contribution of Napoleon to the solution of the sex problem.

The man of great armies invented réglementation and introduced it into France and Europe. He saw it as essential to wars and to the military régime, and withal as a too desirable arrangement to be disestablished even in times of peace. It became a permanent part of the police system of France and was presently imported by the other European countries and the United States. In time the abolitionist movement was organized to combat the system, but was able to make least headway in France, the home of the pernicious plan. Then came the world war, and réglementation was suddenly strengthened in France, as it was revived, cleverly disguised, in the United States. Only in England did the women's organizations offer an effectual resistance. The French women, so long as they are still disfranchised, can hardly be expected to make much opposition; but the American women have it in their power, now that they have the vote, to insist that the old Napoleonic system shall not be perpetuated in this country as a part of the public hygiene program.

The other French law, prohibiting the investigation of paternity, has already begun to yield before the feminist attack. Since 1912, the code has been modified, so that the law now permits the child, after attaining his majority, to institute an inquiry concerning the identity of his father; or the mother may, within two years after the child's birth and at her option, introduce a suit to establish paternity and to claim support for the child. While this represents some advance, at least in principle, over the former arbitrary interdiction, it is still far from representing justice according to the modern feminist view. The care and protection given to the little *abandonnés* of France has long been a model of child welfare work. But the feminist program goes much further than this: it declares the child's right not to be born fatherless and considers that the state, rather than the mother, must guarantee to him this fundamental right of the citizen.

Dr. Anna Moulet, in speaking before the International Conference of Women Physicians, pointed out the limitations of the illegitimacy laws of France. "Laws regarding investigations as to fatherhood are too lax and characterless and ought to be broadened, even if they should disturb the peace of a few families whose egotism and false honor are respected at the expense of the interests of the child." So far the response of the Government to the feminist demands on behalf of illegitimate children have been acts for conciliation rather than genuine reforms. No doubt the franchise will be actively used in the direction indicated by the words of Dr. Moulet.

The woman's cause has never lacked in France the support of illustrious names. Condorcet, Victor Hugo, and Dumas *fils* were all good friends of woman suffrage and strove to enlighten the semi-republican government concerning the merits of universal suffrage. The pioneers of the feminist movement in France were women of brilliancy, ability, and genius. Olympe de Gouges, Maria Desraimes, and George Sand were heroic and gifted personalities; in no other country can the woman movement boast of greater or more inspired leaders. Yet progress for women has been comparatively slow in France and the position of women in the state is determined by a host of disabilities. It was not until 1907 that the wife was allowed by law to control her own earnings.

Where the French movement has lagged has been in the vitality of its organization. The power of individual genius cannot carry far except through the conserving force of collective feeling and collective action. In France, women have never really "got together" in the same way in which English and American women have done. There must be a profound psychological reason behind this undeniable fact. Mary Wollstonecraft caught a glimpse of it perhaps when she said of the French women, in comparing them to her countrywomen—"Their coquetry is not only more agreeable, but more natural: and not left a prey to unsatisfied sensations, they are less romantic indeed than the English." But skill in coquetry, success in marriage, and the early satisfaction of the impulse toward the opposite sex do not tend to develop the emotional alignment with the members of one's own sex. Apparently circumstances have not fostered among French women the kind of personal affection which is the real basis of firm organization among women as it is among men. French feminism has still much to learn from French unionism.

Olive Schreiner

By Alice Henry

IN THE closing days of the year, Olive Schreiner, one of earth's rare spirits, and one of the noblest leaders of the woman's movement, died in London.

Born in 1863 in Basutoland, South Africa, of mixed German and English parentage, she grew up in an outpost station of the London Missionary Society. Her father, George Schreiner, was on the Mission. She gave the name of her mother, Rebecca Lyndall, to the heroine of "The Story of a South African Farm," written before she was twenty and while she was still on the lonely veldt. With its publication in London, in 1883, on the recommendation of George Meredith, her literary reputation was made.

In 1894 she became the wife of Mr. S. G. Cronwright, who held an important official position in Cape Colony, and who saw as she did in political matters. He alone survives her, their only child having died at birth. The latter years of Olive Schreiner's life were spent partly at their home in De Aar, Cape Colony, and partly in London, where she had many friends in the feminist movement, Lady Constance Lytton being one of the closest.

Whenever Olive Schreiner had been born, she would have been a rebel against an old order of society, a leader up to the gates of the new. Born in our day, her revolt took the form of a rebellion against fossilized religion, against the mastery of one human soul by another, against imperialism and its instrument, organized militarism, and in especial made of her the prophet of her sex.

But she was not merely a white flame of emotion against these so lordly wrongs. Even as a girl, she had an amazing breadth of view, and her daring intellect stopped at nothing short of finding the truth, as the truth revealed itself to her. But the poet and the artist in her was fortunate that she spent those early years in such a land, so close to nature and the simplicities, even the rawness of a primitive society. It is to South Africa that we owe the atmosphere of that first story, and many of its unique qualities, the sense of something classic in its beauty and in its restraints, even where youthful enthusiasm and hardness express somewhat crudely the splendid audacity of youth.

She embodied in her own life the antecedents, the struggles and the martyrdoms of the modern woman She had original, imaginative genius and dramatic power in its expression. But it was her fate to be shortly drawn away from the field wherein she had shown such power, and to be claimed by South Africans to be one of them in the struggles of the South African republics against the magnates of the Rand. She knew to the full the inner conflict that prevails within the heart of one belonging to two countries. She was South African, and she was English, and she was torn in two by her love for both lands.

So that besides the "South African Farm," a few beautiful allegories and "Trooper Peter Halkett of Mashonaland" are all that is left to us of the imaginative side of Olive Schreiner's genius.

We recall that "Woman and Labor" is but a fragment of a greater book, on which she had spent twenty years, destroyed in the looting of her Johannesburg home by the British soldiery. It was written in the semi-darkness of a windowless, shuttered hut, wherein she was confined for months, and was written to force her thoughts away from the horrors of war with which she was surrounded.

To the last moment of her life her opposition to war was unceasing, and she was irrevocably convinced that one chief result of women's share in the control of government was to be the gradual passing away of war, for they who bear and cherish life put a higher price on it than men.

Olive Schreiner was at once of the army of revolters and of the clan of dreamers.

"The Nervous Housewife"

The following excerpts, sentence by sentence, at random, have been taken from the "Nervous Housewife," by Dr. Abraham Myerson, Visiting Physician, Nervous Department, Boston City Hospital, and Assistant Professor of Neurology, Tufts Medical School, with the hope and intention of presenting in concise form one of the central problems of the modern woman, and appealing to the Woman's Party Convention that they make the "Nervous Housewife" THEIR problem. —**Rebecca Hourwich.**

IT is a main thesis of this book that the neurosis of the housewife has a large part of its origin in the increasing desires of women, in their demands for a fuller, more varied life than that afforded by the lot of the housewife. The nervousness of the housewife is first a medical problem and then a social, psychological one.

It is an essential phase of housework that as soon as woman can afford it she turns it over to a servant. There is greater and greater difficulty in getting servants, which merely means that even the so-called servant class dislikes the work. No amount of argument therefore leads away from the conclusion that housework must be essentially disagreeable, in its completeness. There may be phases of it that are agreeable; some may like the cooking or the sewing, but no one likes these things plus the everlasting picking up; no one likes the dusting, the dishwashing, the clothes washing and ironing, the work that is no sooner finished than it beckons with tyrannical finger to be begun. To say nothing of the care of children.

All work at home has the difficulty of the segregation, the isolation of the home. Man, the social animal who needs at least some one to quarrel with, has deliberately isolated his household somewhat as a squirrel hides nuts—on a property basis. There has grown up a definite aesthetic need of privacy; all of modesty and the essential family feeling demand it. This is good for the man, and perhaps for the children, but not for the woman.

Let us consider monotony and its effects. The need of new stimuli is a paramount need of the human being. Solitary confinement is the worst punishment, so cruel that it is prohibited in some communities. People accustomed to a wide range of stimuli need a wide range, while people unaccustomed to such a range do not need it. The most important stimuli are other persons, capable of setting into action new emotions, new conduct. It is this group of stimuli that the busy housewife conspicuously lacks. She has no one to talk to, especially in the modern apartment life. It is true she has her children to scold, to discipline, to teach, and to talk at; but contact with child minds is not satisfying, has not the flavor of companionship, is not reciprocal in the sense that adult minds are.

The housewife is par excellence a sedentary creature. She goes to work when she gets up in the morning, within doors. She goes to bed very frequently without having stirred from the home. Now, sedentary life has several main effects upon health and mood. It tends quite definitely to lower the vigor of the entire organism. With this sedentary life comes loss of appetite or capricious appetite. Furthermore, in the household without a servant, the housewife rarely eats her meal in peace and comfort. She jumps up and down from each course, and immediately after the meal she rarely relaxes or rests. The dishes must be cleared away and washed, and this keeps from her that peace of mind so necessary to good digestion. These factors, the nature of housework, monotony and the results of sedentary life bear with especial weight upon the woman of little means. It is absolutely untrue that nervousness is a disease of wealth.

Poverty is picturesque only to the outsider. In the case of the housewife, poverty on the physical side means (1) never-ending work; (2) no escape from drudgery and monotony; (3) insufficient convalescence from the injuries of child-bearing; (4) a poor home, badly managed, without conveniences and necessities. That there are plenty of poor women who bear up well under their burdens is merely a testimony to the inherent vitality of the race. A man would be a wreck morally, physically, and mentally, if he coped with his wife's burdens for a month. Either that or the housekeeping would get down to bare essentials.

We have referred to the insufficient time for convalescence from childbirth. There are sequalae of childbirth, such as varicose veins, flat feet, back strain, that render the victim's life a burden. But the poor woman,—not able to rest,—drags along with her troubles year in and year out, becomes old before her time, and loses through constant pain and distress the freshness of life.

Though the number of children has conspicuously decreased, the care and attention given them has increased in inverse proportion. It is not sufficiently realized that while there has been a rise in feminism there has also been a great change in the status of children, a change that makes their care far more difficult than in the past.

(*Continued on page* 365)

Women in Industry

Department Conducted by Marie L. Obenauer

INFORMATION of paramount importance to all concerned in advancing the interests of wage-earning women is contained in a report just issued by Miss Anderson, Director of the Woman's Bureau of the Department of Labor, giving the results of a survey which was financed by the War Work Council of the Young Women's Christian Association. The title of the report, which is "The New Position of Women in American Industry," does not indicate to what the new position is due, but the introduction promptly makes plain that the report visualizes the effect of the World War upon the status of women in industry. The survey also reflects the substantial part which American wage-earning women played in the great war. The value of this report is enormously enhanced by the broad base upon which it rests, the deductions being drawn from figures furnished by almost 15,000 firms employing after the second draft between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 workers, 500,000 of whom are women.

The war gave women the opportunity of demonstrating beyond the question of an honest or intelligent doubt their availability in skilled crafts where the element of physical strain is not a factor. This fact lays a double obligation upon those promoting labor legislation to guard against impeding the advance of women into skilled occupations unnecessarily or unwittingly. The great danger lies, not in laws which definitely name occupations, but in laws stipulating in establishments employing women certain conditions which should be stipulated regardless of the sex of the workers.

The occupations in which women were substituted are critically analyzed in the report, and the varying degrees of success or failure recorded as a result of the substitutions, together with conditions surrounding them, are carefully discussed. The report is also replete with suggestions for the adaptation of factory management to the successful employment of women. It states that such training as women got in these highly important occupations was a short-cut, emergency instruction afforded in all cases by the firms making the experiment of women labor in skilled occupations. The prices paid by the government for war materials made possible the maintenance of training facilities which competitive conditions in a peace market would not permit except in the case of unusually large firms. The close of the war resulted in the cutting off of the training facilities afforded by many firms whose peace-time operations were of moderate dimensions. The training, therefore, which is accessible to oncoming wage-earning women is confined to the large firms, and to the public and semi-public institutions for vocational training. This fact, so plainly shown by the report on "The New Position of Women in American Industry," lends added significance to the condition discussed in the report on "Industrial Opportunities and Training for Women and Girls" reviewed in the last issue, namely, that the public and semi-public institutions have made little or no adjustment in response to the experience of the world war in the employment of woman labor. The material in the report on "The New Position of Women in American Industry" furnishes ample information for an effective program for extending and improving educational training facilities for women.

Trade Depression and Wages

The past month has seen no abatement in the trade depression and the resulting part time and unemployment in the women-employing industries. At a conference of textile manufacturers of New England and New York, held in Boston December 8, 1920, the following statement was issued: "It has been suggested that a reduction of 22½ per cent in wages will aid materially in stabilizing the market. This will approximately re-establish the wage schedule of November, 1919, and will leave wages in the textile industries more than double the wages of 1915. . . ." This statement was followed within a week by announcements from large textile manufacturers in Lawrence, New Bedford, Salem, Lowell and other New England centers of wage reductions approximating 22½ per cent scheduled to go into effect on December 20. More recent reports from Fall River, Andover, and Springfield, together with announcements from New York State, indicate that further reductions went into effect on January 3. It is estimated that approximately 150,000 textile workers have had wage reductions since November. In many cases this lowering of the scale has been with the consent of the workers. With the almost unanimous vote of the 5,000 employes of the Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills, a 15 per cent reduction in the wage scale and the abolition of the 10 per cent bonus for full time workers have gone into effect. A 12½ per cent decrease in wages was accepted by the representatives of glove workers in Fulton County, New York, who refused the request of the manufacturers to accept a 20 per cent reduction. Approximately 5,000 silk dyers and helpers of Paterson, N. J., have voted to work four hours longer weekly without an increase in wages.

Many labor leaders, however, condemn the action of employers in taking advantage of the depression to initiate lower wage scales. An inquiry of the North Shore Shoe Manufacturers directed to the United Shoe Workers of Salem as to the latter's readiness to make wage concessions has been met with the statement that the Shoe Workers will resist wage reductions. Practically all Lynn shoe factories have been closed since last June as the result of the refusal of the labor unions to consent to the employers' demand for the elimination of the bonus system.

Negotiations between the Clothing Manufacturers Association of New York and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America came to an end last month, as the result of the refusal of the workers to accede to the seven demands of the manufacturers, chief among which were the principle of piece work instead of week work, and the unrestricted right of the employers to discipline and discharge workers. More than 55,000 clothing workers are said to be idle in New York City and the small orders held by the manufacturers render it comparatively easy for the latter to conduct a prolonged contest. The Amalgamated is supported in its stand by the new alliance formed some weeks ago when 25 delegates representing five organizations of clothing workers with a total membership of approximately 395,000 met in New York City.

The Minimum Wage

The Minimum Wage Commission of the District of Columbia has reached the decision, after a period of extended debate, that laundry workers of six months' experience in the industry shall be paid a minimum wage of $15 per week. The beginners' rate shall be $9 per week for the first two months employment, after which it shall be raised $2 every two months until the six months' apprenticeship period is completed.

The award of the Washington State Welfare Board of $18 minimum wage for women employed in hotels and restaurants has been upheld by the Supreme Court of that State. The six-day order of the Commission was also upheld.

In the present time of readjustent, the dominant question insistently pressing on every minimum wage commission for answer is how to keep the minimum wage

rate so adjusted to fluctuating prices as to maintain the base wage at the level of the cost of healthful living. The difference in the drop of wholesale prices and retail prices is such as to make this question difficult to solve just at this time.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union of New York City, representing 85,000 workers, is the first trade union in the country to establish its own health service. Health headquarters have been opened at 131 East Seventeenth Street, with one floor given over to offices, two to clinics, and one to sleeping and living quarters.

A three weeks' course in trade unionism, especially designed by Miss Alice Henry, of the National Woman's Trade Union League, for the instruction of girls interested in the labor movement, was opened in Chicago December 27. The course includes daily classes in labor history and development, women in industry and trade unionism, and the methods of the union organizer.

The Annual Meeting of the Consumers' League which was held at Philadelphia November 17 and 18 gave promise of the League's continued activity in securing better wages and shorter hours for working women. Miss Jeanette Rankin is to campaign in those states where legislation for women has not yet been enacted. The importance of a higher standard of living, and the soundness of trade union principles were emphasized at the conference.

Canada

Minimum wage officials of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia are to hold a conference at Winnipeg in the near future for the purpose of determining a uniform standard of hours, wages and working conditions for girls and women. Seven of the nine Canadian provinces have minimum wage commissions. The Commission of Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan have five members each, two of whom are women. British Columbia and Quebec have three members, one of whom may be a woman. Alberta alone makes no provision for a woman member. At the opening session in Calgary of the Advisory Commission to the Factories Act, Mrs. Jean McWilliams, president of the Women's Labor League, presented an itemized budget for a minimum wage of $21.48 per week for Alberta. The Minimum Wage Commission of Alberta has recently recommended a minimum of $13 per week for women and other workers under 18 years of age.

England

Continued unemployment in the boot and shoe, cotton, woolen, worsted, silk, lace and hosiery trades is reported by the Labor Ministry. Depression is also found in the jute and linen trades. The number of women claiming benefit from employment exchanges under the out-of-work donations and unemployment insurance, increased from 34,901 on October 1 to 60,991 on November 1.

A sub-committee "to consider unemployment caused among women as a result of a substitution of men for women and remedies therefor" has been appointed by the standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's organizations. The Joint Committee has also given its members who have been serving on the advisory housing council of the Ministry of Health permission to resign, as it is a year since the council has been called together,

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The wages provision of the Wages Temporary Regulations Act, which was extended in 1919 under the Industrial Courts Act, came to an end on September 30, 1920. Its lapse was marked by an immediate lowering of the wage rates of women. Many women workers were discharged, and told they could return to work at a rate of from five to ten shillings less per week. The action of the government in permitting the wage provisions to lapse during the present industrial depression has been formally protested by the Fabian Women's Group.

Italy

Three Italian reports dealing with women in industry are reviewed by Dr. Hamilton in the Journal of Industrial Hygiene for November.

"The Performance of the Maternal Function by Women Engaged in Home Industry," by Carmagnano, contains the results of a study in the Pediatric clinic of Turin of 331 women engaged in home work, such as weaving, tailoring, seamstress work, etc,; 2,800 housewives engaged only in their household duties, and 117 peasant women. The housing conditions of the women were said to be similar. The evil effects of tenement-house industry upon women, is indicated by the high percentage of abortions and still-born children which was 15.2 per cent among this group, 11.9 per cent among housewives, and 6.6 per cent among peasant women. The home workers show lower fecundity than the others, and less ability to nurse their babies. The mortality rate among the live-born children of the home worker is 21.2 per cent, of the housewife 20.4 per cent, and of the peasant 15.1 per cent.

Increased medical supervision, shorter hours, and laws prohibiting night work will be necessary if women are to be retained in Italian factories, according to Ettore Tedeschi in his study of the "Sickness Rate of Women Industrial Workers During the War." The observations upon which this book is based were made by the author in a machine shop where women were employed on lathe work. He records a steady loss in the health and capacity of women who entered the shop well and strong, and states that two or three nights fatigue a woman to as great extent as two weeks of day work.

Germany

In the November "Monthly Review" of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Alfred Maylander summarizes the reports of the German factory inspectors for the period of the war in so far as they concern women labor. The reports of the inspectors are for the various districts in Germany, and figures are given for 1913 and 1918. In Prussia the proportion of women to the total working force increased from 20.5 per cent in 1913 to 37.9 per cent in 1918; in Bavaria from 22.6 per cent to 39.2 per cent; in Saxony from 29.7 per cent to 43.2, while in Dusseldorf a proportion of only 20.1 in 1913 increased to 47.9 per cent in 1918. No figures are given to indicate the retention of women in the post-war period.

The wages of women substitutes were one-fourth to one-third less than those of male workers, but it was also reported that on piece work women on the whole did not equal the earnings of men.

A bill has recently been introduced in the Reichstag which would require women and girls, as well as men and boys, to give one year of industrial service in the interest of increasing national production.

Bills Before Congress

Enforcement Bill

Introduced last June by Senator Watson (R.) of Indiana and referred to Senate Judiciary Committee. Reintroduced by Senator Jones of Washington, on December 30, and referred to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Fess (R.) of Ohio on December 13, and referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage. Provides penalties for violation of Nineteenth Amendment.

Sheppard-Towner Maternity Bill

Passed by the Senate on December 18 without a roll call and referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce where it awaits action. The act as amended by the Senate provides for $1,480,000 appropriation instead of the four million asked for, and puts the administration of the objects of the bill in the hands of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

Citizenship and Naturalization

The House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization on January 5 authorized the Chairman to introduce a new general naturalization bill to take the place of pending bills, and this was done by Representative Johnson of Washington on January 8. (H. R. 15603). The new bill, in so far as it relates to women, is not as just as the Anthony Bill. Under it, women no longer would derive citizenship from the naturalization of husbands, but would be required to make individual application for citizenship. They would lose their American citizenship by marrying aliens not eligible to citizenship, but would not lose it by marriage to aliens who may be lawfully naturalized. A woman married to an alien loses her citizenship, however, if she lives in her husband's country for two years, or in any other foreign country for four years. No provision is made for any change in citizenship of men because of marriage to any sort of alien.

Smith-Towner Education Bill

Introduced by Senator Hoke Smith (D.) of Georgia, and Representative Towner (R.) of Iowa. Reported favorably by House Committee on Education, on January 11, with scant prospects for a vote during the present session. An effort on January 20 to have it reported out by Senate Committee failed. The bill creates a federal department of education with appropriation of one hundred million, to be apportioned among the states to aid in the payment of larger salaries to teachers, removal of illiteracy, and in promoting physical education.

Mothers' Pension Bill

Introduced by Representative Rhodes (R.), of Missouri. Referred to Committee on Labor. No action taken. This bill would grant federal aid to mothers with dependent children.

Civil Service Bills

Fess Bill, introduced by Representative Fess (R.), of Ohio, is before the House Committee on Reform of the Civil Service. Amends civil service law so that commission shall consist of five persons, at least two of them women.

McLean Bill, introduced by Senator McLean (R.), of Connecticut, is before the Senate Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment. Provides that civil service eligible lists shall not specify sex.

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2d, to learn how to govern the body by this Truth;
3d, to govern the body by it."
Mary Baker Eddy

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N. B.: Mrs. Hunter resigned from the Christian Science organization August 5, 1920.

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Letters

To the Editor of the Suffragist:

In your November issue is an appeal from Mary White Ovington for justice for the colored women of the South. I have written to her, and I am writing to you with the hope that you will give me space in your columns. I also wish in this letter to say, in regard to the article, in the same issue of the Suffragist, by H. E. C. Bryant, called "Southern Women Vote," that details are not given as to how southern colored women are prevented from voting in many sections—in Georgia, for instance, where wholesale discrimination was the rule, keeping out the white women in order to debar the colored; in South Carolina, where, aided by Ku Klux Clans, well-educated, respectable colored women were prevented from registering because of their inability to answer such questions as:

"Explain a mandamus."

"Define civil code."

"If presidential votes are tied, how would you break the tie?"

"How much revenue does the Baptist Church pay the state?"

In Richmond, Virginia, many colored women were prevented from registering. One of the Norfolk, Virginia, daily papers said in an editorial that a law should be enacted by the Legislature of Virginia against the passage of the Woman Suffrage Amendment which could be so manipulated as to allow any white man to vote "unless he were an idiot," and to prevent any negro from voting even if he were "a graduate of Harvard."

Florida is also enjoying a reign of Ku Klux Clans, mysteriously resurrected around election time. That Florida colored women are not likely to enjoy the franchise to any great extent is indicated by the following incident which I quote from the New York *Tribune* of November 4 last:

"Two negroes were burned to death and one lynched in an election riot at Ocoee, twelve miles south of Orlando, yesterday. One negro woman was among those burned to death, it is said, but no children." The above contradiction speaks for itself, as it indicates that more than two persons perished in this manner. The item goes on to say that "armed whites were reported closing in on other negroes who fled to the woods," that more than twenty buildings in the negro settlement were burned, and that a negro named Perry was wounded and while on his way to jail in an automobile was taken and lynched. Such an occurrence as the above indicates a widespread feeling. If the colored vote was an unhealthy proposition in Ocoee, so were the polls in other parts of the state.

H. E. C. Bryant goes on to say that in Kentucky "the situation is now most interesting. There the race issue has bobbed up, and is playing an important part." Has H. E. C. Bryant ever been present when the race issue "bobbed up"? It is more than "interesting," and something not easily forgotten in one's dreams.

The National Woman's Party will soon be honoring Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. If they could return to us for this event, how would they view the present aspect of woman suffrage in our southern states, and would they not tell us what our first duty should be, now that we have the weapon of the ballot?

Ella Rush Murray.

Catskill-on-Hudson, November 15, 1920.

To The Editor of the Suffragist:

It does not seem to me in the least unnatural that the former suffragists of the country—I say "former" because of course we are all suffragists now, working in one common cause, whatever our previous opinion may have been—should ask themselves the question, "Shall we join one of

the political parties already in existence, or shall we form one of our own? Men having long refused to let us work with them, shall we not now refuse to let them work with us? "The desire to get even" with those whom we feel, rightly or wrongly, to have underestimated our powers or injured our pride, is very strongly implanted in most human breasts. It may not be sublime; but it is certainly human. I cannot help feeling, however, that every fair-minded woman, if she will look at the question squarely and sanely, will see that this is not the wisest nor the fairest course to pursue—not merely because "heaping coals of fire" upon an adversary's head often brings about better results than a carefully conceived revenge, or because retaliation on our part would show that we are ourselves possessed of the very faults we had condemned in others, of the opposite sex, or even because it would be ungracious and ungrateful to the many men who *have* helped us win the ballot, but because only when women and men begin to think of each other as partners and not as antagonists can the greatest results be won by our hard-earned victory. Some of the vast tasks of social legislation of the day can, by their very nature, be better approached by earnest and intelligent women than by men of the same caliber; but, on the other hand, there are other forms of legislation which, if for no other reason than because of their long familiarity and experience with them, men can handle better than women. There are, of course, the inevitable exceptions which prove the rule in both cases. But in the main, this is true. And to recognize it as the truth, and act upon it as such, will, I believe, prove both our strength and our salvation. A great political union of the sexes, the greatest in the history of the world, has taken place. Let us respect its sanctity no less than we would the sanctity of marriage.

Frances Parkinson Keyes

"The Nervous Housewife"

(*Continued from page* 359)

It is very well to say "See what the women of a past generation did," but could we look at the thing objectively, we would see that they were little better than slaves.

The man still makes the main conditions of life for both, his name is taken, his work sustains the household, his purse supplies the means of existence, his industrial or business situation determines the residence, his social standing is theirs. Theoretically, every man admits the importance of his wife as mother and homekeeper, but practically he acts as if his work were the really most important activity of the family. Two great opinions are, therefore, still struggling in the home and in society; one that matrimony implies the dependence and essential inferiority of woman, and the other that the man and woman are equal partners in the relationship.

On the whole, we may look to an increasing individuality of woman; an increasing reluctance to take up life as the traditional housewife.

A larger cooperation, at least in the cities, will come. Buildings must be built so that a deal of individual labor disappears. Just as cooperative stores are springing up, so cooperative kitchens, community kitchens organized for service would be a great benefit.

How to maintain the sweetness of the family spirit of the home and yet bring into it a wider social spirit, is a problem I do not pretend to be able to solve.

How men and women will live together, how they will arrange for the children, will be questions that women will help the world answer as well as their mates. That the main trend of things is for better, more ethical, more just relationship, I do not doubt. Meanwhile, in the hurly-burly of new things, of complex relationships, working blindly, is the nervous housewife.

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Letters

To the Editor of the SUFFRAGIST:

Is it not in order for the enfranchised women of this country, who have talked much and vehemently, now to give a convincing demonstration of their avowed capacities, and capabilities of a political sort?

A clean-cut alternative lies before the women. On the one hand, there is organization within the two old parties; and on the other, organization apart from either of them.

This splitting between the two parties is deplorable. If the winning of the ballot by the women means but the adding of dull numbers to the voting strength of the two parties, the value of the suffrage fight is nil, or next to it. Probably the parties are inconveniently large without the women. The strength of a democracy is not in the gross total of its voters; but, by all means, in their fine quality.

There is a bogey which does a lot of damage to the third party idea; it is that the formation of a Woman's Party will bring on a sex war. This bogey is quite horrid when he is all decked out and set up to scare timid souls.

It takes two to make a real bloody fight, and men are never going to fight women in that way: and both men and women are well aware of this fundamental fact. There are many good, cogent and undiscussable reasons, which nature has provided, why there will never be any military lining up of the sexes in opposing ranks for the purposes of mutual slaughter.

Yes, a convincing demonstration by the women of their political ability is in order.

D. H. W.

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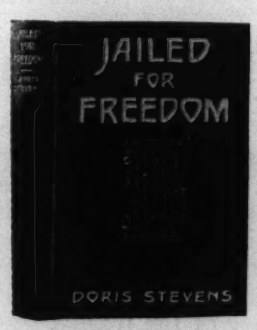

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